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ON THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS

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ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS,

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

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VOLUME FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.
1873.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION *

THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishṉu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṉas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṉas, and to show, so far as the materials at our command will allow, to what extent, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–62) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the Rig-veda, and in the Atharva-veda, under the different titles of Viśvakarman, Hiraṉyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with Vishṉu and Rudra, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character, if at all altered, has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

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* [With the exception of the notes in pages vi., vii., and x., and the alterations in the figures showing the pages in which the several chapters and sections begin and end, rendered necessary by the additions made in this second edition, this preface is reprinted nearly as it originally stood.]

Brahmā was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishṇu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 188, 194, 230, 267, 273). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.* Three of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to him, or to Emūsha, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise, a boar,* and a fish, are in later works transferred to Vishṉu (see pp. 27, 33 f., 36 and 38).

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* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V., p. 309, reprinted in vol. iii. of his collected works, pp. 74 f.; and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21. In the preface to his edition of the Nārada Pancharātra, published in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1865, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea refers to this subject: "Of the three select divinities," (Brahmā, Vishṇu, and S'iva) "the first, however, had never become an object of special adoration, having been guilty of an incestuous attempt on his own daughter." (See pp. 45 ff. of this volume.) "The incident is thus accounted for in the work now presented to the public." The words referred to will be quoted below. They occur in the tenth section, vv. 30 f. It had been previously related that Brahmā had exhorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (*sṛishtim̃ kuru mahābhāga kṛitvā dāra-parigraham*, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Kṛishṇa, becomes angry, affirms that devotion to that god is the sole way to attain felicity, and denounces his father as an erring instructor (vv. 7–22). Brahmā in reply curses Nārada, and dooms him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women, etc. (vv. 23–29). Nārada pays back the imprecation in the lines translated by Mr. Banerjea, which I give in the original, with some of those that follow: *Tātasya vachanam̃ śrutvā chukopa Nārado muniḥ* | *śaśāpa pitaram̃ śīghram̃ dāruṇam̃ cha yathochitam* | 31. *Apūjyo bhava dushṭa tvam̃ tvan-mantropāsakaḥ kutaḥ* | *agamyā-gamanechhā te bhavishyati na sam̃śayaḥ* | 32. *Nāradasya tu śāpena so 'pūjyo jagatām̃ vidhiḥ* | *dṛishṭvā sva-kanyā-rūpam̃ cha paśchād dhāvitavān purā* | 33. *Punaḥ svadeham̃ tatyāja bharsitaḥ Sanakādibhiḥ* | *lajjitaḥ kāma-yuktaś cha punar Brahmā babhūva saḥ* | 34. *Nāradas tu namaskṛitya pitaram̃ kamalodbhavam* | *vipra-deham parityajya gandharvaś cha babhūva saḥ* | 30. "Hearing the words of his father, the muni Nārada became incensed, and straightway cursed him dreadfully, as was befitting. 31. 'Wretch, become no object of adoration: how shall any one be devoted to the forms of thy worship? Thou shalt without doubt lust after her who is no fit object of thy desires.' 32. Through this curse of Nārada, the creator of the world ceased to be an object of worship. Beholding the beauty of his daughter, he formerly ran after her. 33. Afterwards, being reproached by Sanaka and others, he abandoned his corporeal form. Brahmā afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his lotus-born father, forsook his Brahmanical body, and became a Gandharva." His loves are then related.

The Second Chapter (pp. 63–298) first of all describes the original conception of Vishṉu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 63–97). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description; but the conception is not distinctly developed in any of the texts. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishṉu; and we might thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishṉu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 97–114). The Third Section (pp. 114–121) treats of Vishṉu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth

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* Compare the passage from the Tattirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 52.

Section (pp. 121–156) contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṉas, in which he is identified with sacrifice; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṉa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṉu and Bhāgavata Purāṉas. In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 156 ff.), in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṉu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṉu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section (pp. 163–298), and pp. 441–491 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṉa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Kṛishṉa, the two heroes who came ultimately to be regarded as the principal incarnations of Vishṉu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Kṛishṉa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history when they were composed. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishṉu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter (pp. 299–437) traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 299–320), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (321–331), in the Atharva-veda (332–339), in the Brāhmaṉas and Mahābhārata (339–355), in the Upanishads (355–363), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṉas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daksha's sacrifice (363–393). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 393–405. Pages 405–420 contain an inquiry into the origin of the Linga worship,—though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained;—and into the question whether or not Mahādeva's worship was most prevalent in the South of India in the epic era. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṉḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṉyaka, in the Rāmāyaṉa, Harivaṁśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṉḍeya Purāṉa (pp. 420–437).

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Vishṉu, Rāma, Kṛishṉa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishṉu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R.V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), whose remarks are subjoined in a note,* and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R.V. i. p. xxxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Vishṉu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 64 ff.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 394 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṉas. And in pp. 421 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

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* "We can at this day go further still, and affirm that the Vishṉu of the Vedas is in no way the Vishṉu of the mythologists. A commentator of a certain authority, Durgāchārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāska, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen," (*i.e.* R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) "says positively that Vishṉu is the sun, either because he enters into the heaven, or because he entirely occupies it. This interpretation, which he derives from Yāska himself, leaves no doubt on the question what we are to understand by the Vishṉu of the Vedas, who takes three steps. It is manifestly the luminary of day regarded in the three principal moments of his course, his rising, meridional position, and setting; and there is none of the expressions of the Vedic texts in which this god appears, making himself in three steps master of the celestial vault, to which this explanation given by Yāska several centuries before our era does not apply. We learn by this example what prudence it is indispensable to bring to the studies by the aid of which criticism must restore the chain which connects the mythical development of the Indian religion with the conceptions of the primitive naturalism of the Vedas. Neither the identity of the names, nor even that of the sense, is a sufficiently sure guide; and the ideas, though originally simple, are clothed in forms either so different, or so easy to be confounded, that we cannot judge of the details without having understood and embraced the whole."

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

With the exception of a variety of additions, interspersed through the work, which in all fill about 60 pp., but little alteration has been made in this Edition. The most important additions, chiefly in notes, will be found in pp. 39 f., 78 f., 126, 131, 138 f., 143 f., 151–156, 165, 167, 200–203, 255 f., 261 f., 267, 278, 289 f., 298, 301–303, 304, 310, 314 f., 317, 321, 327 ff., 337, 341, 347 f., 381, 393, 403, 406, 413 f., 420, 425, 441 f., 456, 464 f., 472, 474, 476, 491–493, 494, 496, and in the "Additional Notes." The addition in pp. 151–156, from the Matsya Purāṇa, contains a statement (unusual, if not altogether unknown in other Indian works) in reference to Vishṇu's incarnations, which represents seven of them as being the result of a curse uttered against the god by Śukra, the priest of the Asuras, whose mother he (Vishṇu) had slain. At the same time it is affirmed, strangely enough, that these incarnations, though occasioned by a curse, were intended for the repression of unrighteousness when it should become dominant on the earth.

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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME FOURTH.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

REFERENCE has already been made in the second volume of this work (pp. 212–216, 1st ed.)[1] to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Vishṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later narratives and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Puranic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, stories in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the representations given of the most popular divinities became not only at variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṉas themselves.

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[1] The passage occurs at pp. 201-204 of the 2nd ed.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the deities Viśvakarman, Hiraṉyagarbha, Prajāpati, etc.; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṉas, and (3) by quotations from Manu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṉa, and the Purāṉas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Vishṉu and Rudra, and the goddess Ambikā, with occasional notices of other Indian deities.

CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMAṈAS, AND PURĀṈAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VIS'VAKARMAN, BRAHMAṈASPATI, DAKSHA, ADITI, HIRAṈYAGARBHA, SKAMBHA, PRAJĀPATI, PURUSHA NĀRĀYAṈA, BRAHMĀ, ETC.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation and some of the deities just named.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, x. 129 (= TAITTIRĪYA BRĀHMAṈA, ii. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.[1]—*Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm̃ na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanam̃ gabhīram | 2. Na mṛityur āsīd amṛitam̃ na tarhi na rātryāḥ ahnaḥ*[1] *āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātam̃ svadhayā tad ekam̃ tasmād ha anyad na paraḥ kinchanāsa | 3. Tamaḥ āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre*[2] *apraketam̃ salilam̃ sarvam āḥ idam | tuchhyena ābhv apihitam̃ yad āsīt tapasas tad*

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[1] The Vishṉu Purāṉa, i. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us, and employs it in support of the Sānkhya doctrine of *Pradhāna: Veda-vāda-vido viprāḥ niyatāḥ Brahma-vādinaḥ | paṭhanti vai tam evārtham Pradhāna-pratipādakam | 22. Nāho na rātrir na nabho na bhūmir nāsīt tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotrādi-buddhyānupalabhyam ekam prādhānikam Brahma pumāṁs tadāsīt* | "Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhāna: 22. 'There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahma possessing the character of Pradhāna, the Male, incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.'" See Dr. Hall's ed. of Wilson's V. P, vol. i., pp. 23 ff., with the Editor's notes.

[2] These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, x. 6, 5, 1 (= Bṛihad Āraṉyaka Upan-

mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. *Kāmas*[3] *tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad āsīt* | *sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshya kavayo manīshā* | 5. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) *Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt* | *retodhāḥ āsan mahimānaḥ āsan svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt* | 6. *Ko anga veda kaḥ iha pravochat kutaḥ ājātā kutaḥ iyaṁ visṛishtiḥ* | *arvāg devāḥ asya visarjjanena atha ko veda yataḥ ābabhūva* | 7. *Iyaṁ visṛishṭir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na* | *yo asyādhyakshaḥ parame vyoman sa anga veda yadi vā na veda* |

"There was then neither non-entity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor the sky which is above. What enveloped [all]? where, in the receptacle of what [was it hid]? was it water,[4] the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That, being One, breathed calmly, in self-dependence: there was nothing different from It [that One] or above It. 3. Darkness existed; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; that One which lay void,[5] and wrapped in a husk [or in nothingness], was developed by the power of fervour. 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] the wise, seeking by their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond between non-entity and entity. 5. The ray [or cord] which stretched across these [worlds],—was it above, or was it below? There were impregnating energies, and mighty powers; a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the development of this [universe]; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what

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ishad, pp. 26 ff., in Bibl. Ind.), it is said, *Na eva iha kinchana agre āsīt* | *mṛityunā eva idam āvṛitam āsīt* | "Originally there was nothing here. This was enveloped by Death," etc. See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 27.

[3] In the passages which I shall quote from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc., further on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: *so 'kāmayata*, "he desired," etc. In a hymn of the Atharva V. (ix. 2) Kāma is personified as a deity. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 402 ff.

[4] In regard to water, as the origin of all things, see verse 3, and the quotations which are given further on, from R. V. x. 82, 5 f., x. 72, 6; the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.

[5] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhu* and *tuchhya*.

source this creation arose and whether [any one] made it or not,[6]—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or [even] He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskṛit Literature," pp. 559–566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pāṉini," pp. 144 f. The hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 356 ff., to which I refer.

VIŚVAKARMAN,—RIG-VEDA, x. 81 AND 82 (=VĀJ. SANH. xvii. 17–23; 25–31; AND TAITT. SANH. iv. 6, 2, 1 ff.).

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—*Yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad ṛishir hotā nyashīdat pitā naḥ* | *sa āśishā draviṉam ichhamānaḥ prathama-chhad avarān*[7] *āviveśa* | 2. *Kim̃ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam ārambhaṉam̃ kathamat svit kathā 'sīt* | *yato bhūmim̃ janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurṉod mahinā viśvachakshāḥ* | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) *Viśvataśchakshur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt* | *sam bāhubhyām̃ dhamati* [*namati:* T. S.] *sam patatrair dyāvā-bhūmī janayan devaḥ ekaḥ*[8] | 4. *Kim̃ svid vanam̃* [R. V. x. 31, 7] *kaḥ u sa vṛikshaḥ āsa yato dyāvā-pṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ* | *manīshiṉo manasā pṛichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | 5. *Yā te dhāmāni paramāṉi yā 'vamā yā madhyamā Viśvakarmann utemā* | *śiksha sakhibhyo havishi svadhāvaḥ svayam̃ yajasva tanvam̃ vṛidhānaḥ* | 6. (=S. V. 2, 939.) *Viśvakarman havishā vāvṛidhānaḥ svayam̃ yajasva pṛithivīm uta dyām*[9] | *muhyantu anye abhito janāsaḥ*[10] *ihāsmākam maghavā sūrir astu* | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.) *Vāchaspatim̃ Viśvakarmāṉam ūtaye manojuvam̃ vāje adya huvema* | *sa no viśvāni havanāni joshad viśvaśambhūr avase sādhukarmā* |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff.—*Chakshushas pitā manasā hi dhīro ghṛitam*[11] *ene*

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[6] *Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht.* Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root *dhā* (p. 903).

[7] *Paramachhado vare* | T.S.

[8] The A.V. reads *yo viśvacharshaṉir uta viśvatomukho yo viśvataspāṉir uta viśvatasspṛithaḥ* | *sam bāhubhyām bharati*, etc.

[9] Instead of *pṛithivīm uta dyām* the S.V. reads *tanvām̃ svā hi te.*

[10] Instead of *janāsaḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ.*

[11] Compare R.V. v. 83, 8. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 f.

ajanad namnamāne | *yadā id antāḥ adadṛihanta pūrve ād id dyāvāpṛithivī aprathetām* | 2. *Viśvakarmā vimanāḥ ād*[12] *vihāyāḥ dhātā vidhātā paramā uta saṁdṛik*[13] | *teshām ishṭāni sam ishā madanti yatra sapta ṛishīn paraḥ ekam āhuḥ* | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) *Yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā*[14] *dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā*[15] | *yo devānāṁ nāmadhāḥ ekaḥ eva taṁ sampraśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā* | 4. *Te āyajanta draviṇaṁ sam asmai ṛishayaḥ pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā* | [=Nir. vi. 15] *asūrtte sūrtte rajasi nishatte*[16] *ye bhūtāni samakṛiṇvann imāni* | 5. *Paro divā paraḥ enā pṛithivyā paro devebhir asurair yad asti*[17] | *kaṁ svid garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve* | 6. *Tam id garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samagachhanta viśve* | *ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam arpitaṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ*[18] | 7. *Na taṁ vidātha yaḥ imā jajāna anyad yushmākam antaram babhūva*[19] | *nīhāreṇa prāvṛitāḥ jalpyā cha asutṛipaḥ ukthaśāsaś charanti* |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—"Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these creatures,—he, earnestly desiring substance, he, the archetype, entered into later [men]. 2. What was the position, which and whence was the principle, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the sky and earth, shapes them[20] with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the wood, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned the heaven and the earth?[21] Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Do thou, Viśvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle, and these. Thou who art strong in the oblation, exhilarated, thyself offer up thyself.[22] 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, delighted by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are round about me become confounded. May a generous son remain here to us.[23] 7. Let us to-day invoke in our conflict the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

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[12] *Manasā yad* | T.S.

[13] See R.V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

[14] Instead of *yo vidhātā* the A.V. has *sa uta bandhuḥ*.

[15] *Yo naḥ sato abhi ā saj jajāna* | T. S.

[16] *Asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* | T. S.

[17] *Guhā yat* | T. S.

[18] After this verse the Taitt. Sanh. has the following [=Vāj. S. xvii. 32]: *Viśvakarmā hy ajanishṭa devaḥ ād id gandharvo abhavad dvitīyaḥ* | *tṛitīyaḥ pitā janitā oshadhīnām apām garbham vyadadhāt purutrā* | "The god Viśvakarman was born: then the Gandharva was produced the second; the third was the father, the generator of plants; he divided into many parts the source of the waters."

[19] *Bhavāti* | T.S.

[20] Compare R.V. x. 72, 2, below, p. 11; and R. V. iv. 2-17 (=A. V. xviii. 3, 22): *Ayo na devāḥ janimā dhamantaḥ* | "The gods blowing on [or shaping] productions, like iron."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The father of insight, wise in mind, impregnated with sap these two [worlds] as they bowed down [before him]. When their remotest ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names,[24] to him the other creatures resort for instruction. 4. The former rishis, who fashioned these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him, like worshippers, substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters[25] contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected.

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[21] This half verse also occurs in R. V. x. 31, 7. The second half verse, as also the answer given to the question in Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, "Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree," etc., are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 32.

[22] See, however, Roth, s.v. *tanu*, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.

[23] Prof. Aufrecht proposes to translate this verse as follows: "May all other people around us vanish into nothing, but our own offspring remain blessed in this world." In proof of the sense of "offspring," or "son," here assigned to *sūri* (though it has not always this meaning), he refers to R. V. v. 42, 4; vi. 26, 7; vi. 63, 11; vi. 68, 7; vii. 66, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R. V. i. 181, 4, between *sumakhasya sūriḥ* and *divaḥ putraḥ*.

[24] *Nāma cha pitā eva karoti* | Mahīdhara.

[25] Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

One [receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all beings stood. 7. Ye cannot know him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The sense in some parts of them is clear, in others very obscure. The verses of which they are made up are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (xvii. 17–23, and 25–31), in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda, and without any various readings of importance. They are also repeated in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, with variations, of which the chief have been noted above. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśishṭa, ii. 10. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (pp. 141, f.), offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,[26] is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man): and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1, 10, and viii. 2, 3, 13, identifies Viśvakarman with Prajāpati (*Prajāpatir vai Viśvakarmā*). See also the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 22, and Professor Haug's translation, p. 299.

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[26] *Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimunchatu.*

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26:

Tatretihāsam āchakshate | Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ sarvamedhe sarvāṇi bhūtāni juhavānchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavānchakara | tad-abhivādiny eshā ṛig bhavati 'yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad' iti | "Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at a universal sacrifice (*sarvamedha*). He finally offered up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all beings,' etc."

Some further passages relating to Viśvakarman will be found below, in the sixth section of the third chapter, to which, as well as to the first volume of this work, pp. 52, 76, and 456 f., and to the fifth volume, p. 372, I may refer.

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yajaḥ ṛitubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvam̃ sujāta* | 'As thou (O Agni) at the measured times, O god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; *svayam̃ yajasva tanvam̃ vṛidhānaḥ* | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *tanū*[27] and of the construction of the root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the

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[27] In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskṛit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.

6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: 'Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.' The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tanvāṁ svā hi te*, 'offer thy body, for it is thine,' instead of *pṛithivīm uta dyām*, 'offer earth and heaven') may be an amendment in support of the legend."

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sūkta. See the first volume of this work, pp. 3, 9, and the fifth volume, pp. 367, ff. Possibly both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Sūkta. The author there puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn:

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyād nalinād aham āsam mahātmanaḥ | nāvindaṁ yajna-sambhārān Purushāvayavān ṛite* | 22. *Teshu yajnasya paśavaḥ sa-vanaspatayaḥ kuśāḥ | idancha deva-yajanaṁ kālaś choru-guṇānvitaḥ* | 23. *Vastūny oshadayaḥ snehāḥ rasa-loha-mṛido jalam | ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chāturhotrancha sattama* | 24. *Nāmadheyāni mantrāś cha dakshiṇāś cha vratāni cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha* | 25. *Gatayo matayaś chaiva prāyaśchittaṁ samarpaṇam | Purushāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhṛitāḥ mayā* | 26. *Iti sambhṛita-sambhāraḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushaṁ yajnaṁ tenaivāyajam īśvaraṃ* |

"21. When I was produced," says Brahmā, "from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the Kuśa grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Ṛich, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the texts, the gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication,—all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice."]

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82) as follows: "They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings . . . . furnished to him the material." In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrtta*, not by "still," but by "distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

The later conception of Viśvakarman, as the artificer of the gods, is found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, i. 2592: *Viśvakarmā mahābhāgo jajne śilpa-prajāpatiḥ* | *kartā śilpa-sahasrāṉām tridaśānām cha vardhakiḥ* | *bhūshaṉānāmcha sarveshām kartā śilpavatām varaḥ* | *yo divyāni vimānāni tridaśānām chakāra ha* | *manushyāś chopajīvanti tasya śilpam mahātmaṉaḥ* | *pūjayanti cha yam nityam Viśvakarmāṉam avyayam* | "Then was born the illustrious Viśvakarman, the lord of the arts, executor of a thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities; on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship."

BRAHMAṈASPATI, DAKSHA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, x. 72.[28]

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānām nu vayam jānā pravochāma vipanyayā* | *uktheshu śaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge*[29] | 2. *Brahmaṉaspatir etā sam karmāraḥ*[30] *ivādhamat* | *devānam pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata*[31] |

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[28] This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.

[29] See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, under the word *yuga*; and the first volume of this work, p. 45 f.

[30] *Karmāraḥ* | *sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upadhamaty evam udapādayat* | (Sāyaṉa) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 6, and note 20, there.

[31] Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Brihanto nāma te devāḥ ye 'sataḥ pari jajnire* | *ekam tad angam Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | "Great are those gods who

3. *Devānāṁ yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata* | *tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari* | 4. *Bhūr jajne Uttānapado bhuvaḥ āśāḥ ajāyanta* | *Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari* | (comp. R. V. x. 90, 5.) 5. *Aditir hi ajanishṭa Daksha yā duhitā tava* | *Tāṁ devāḥ anv ajāyanta bhadrāḥ amṛita-bandhavaḥ* | 6. *Yad devāḥ adaḥ salile*[32] *susaṁrabdhāḥ atishṭhata* | *atra vo nṛityatām iva tīvro reṉur apāyata* | 7. *Yad devāḥ*[33] *yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apinvata* | *atra samudre āgūḷham ā sūryam ajabharttana* | 8. *Ashṭau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari* | *devān upa prait saptabhiḥ parā Mārttāṉḍam āsyat*[34] | 2. *Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditer upa prait pūrvyaṁ yugam* | *prajāyai mṛityave tvat punar Mārttāṉḍam ābharat*[35] |

"1. Let us celebrate with exultation the births of the gods, in chanted hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this] later age. 2. Brahmaṉaspati shaped all these [beings] like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent. Thereafter the different regions sprang forth from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; from the earth sprang the regions. Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came] forth from Daksha. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, O Daksha. After her the gods came into being, blessed, sharers in immortality. 6. When, O gods, ye moved, strongly agitated, on that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from dancers. 7. When ye, O gods, like devotees [or strenuous men], replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been

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sprang from non-entity. Men say that that remote non-entity is one member of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems, on one interpretation, to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad. *Tad ha eke āhur "asad evedam agre āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta"* | *Kutas tu khalu saumya evaṁ syād iti hovācha katham asataḥ saj jāyeta iti* | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389, 392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said, 'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'" See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 358 ff.

[32] Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.

[33] Here Sāyaṉa makes *yatayaḥ meghāḥ*, "clouds." See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 92.

[34] *Parāsyat* = *upari prākshipat*, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṉa).

[35] *Abharat* = *āharat* = *dyuloke adhārayat*, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṉa).

hidden in the ocean. 8. Of the eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi, she approached the gods with seven, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached the formet generation of gods. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa."[36]

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (*sujyotishaḥ*) as being the sons or descendants of Daksha (*Daksha-pitṛīn*).[37] These notices of Daksha which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the first volume of this work, pp. 65, 72, 116, 122 ff., etc. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishṇu and other Purāṇas to have been a son of Manu Svāyambhuva by Satarūpā (*ibid.* pp. 65, 72, 106, 114).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: *Ādityo Dakshaḥ ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ* | *Aditir Dākshāyaṇī* | "*Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari*" *iti cha* | *tat katham upapadyeta* | *samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmeṇa itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī* | "Daksha is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daksha, [according to the text] *Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daksha.* How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another." See also Nirukta vii. 4, as quoted below in chapter ii. sect. 5.

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: "Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daksha (spiritual force), and from Daksha again Aditi. Yes,

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[36] The word *Mārttāṇḍa* is compounded of two words *mārtta*, apparently derived from *mṛityu*, death, and *aṇḍa*, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivaṁsa v. 549, thus interprets the word: *Na khalv ayam mṛito 'ṇḍasthaḥ iti snehād abhāshata* | *ajnānāt Kaśyapas tasmād Mārttāṇḍah iti chochyate* | "Kaśyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, 'he is not dead, abiding in the egg;' hence he is called Mārttāṇḍa." See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 94. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, assign to the word in this passage the sense of "bird." See R. V. ii. 38, 8-25.

[37] See, however, the fifth volume of this work, p. 51 f.

Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds to remark: "Daksha, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life."

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

"*Ashṭau putrāsaḥ*" *putrāḥ Mitrādayo 'diter bhavaṇti* | "*Ye Adites tanvas pari*" *śarīrāj* "*jātāḥ*" *utpannāḥ* | *Aditer ashṭa-putrāḥ Ādhvaryava-brāhmaṇe pariganitāḥ* | *tathā hi* | "*tān anukramishyāmo Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha Dhātā cha Aryamā cha Aṁśaś cha Bhagaś cha Vivasvān Ādityaś cheti*" | *tathā tatraiva pradeśāntare Aditim prastutya āmnātam* "*tasyāḥ uchchheshaṇam adadhus tat prāśnāt* | *sā reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāraḥ Ādityāḥ ajāyanta sā dvitīyam apibad*" *ityādinā ashṭānām Ādityānām utpattir varṇitā* |

"Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: 'We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.' In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded; "They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion],' etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas." See the first volume of this work, pp. 26 f.

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn:

Ashṭau ha vai putrāḥ Aditeḥ | *Yāṁs tv etad* "*devāḥ Ādityāḥ*" *ity āchakshate sapta ha eva te* | *avikṛitaṁ*[38] *ha ashṭamaṁ janayānchakāra Mārttāṇḍam* | *sandegho*[39] *ha evāsa* | *yāvān evordhvas tāvāṁs tiryaṇ puruska-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ* | 4. *Te u ha ete ūchur devāḥ Ādityāḥ* "*yad asmūn anv ajanimā tad amuyeva bhūd* | *hanta imaṁ vikaravāma*" *iti* | *taṁ vichakrur yathā 'yam purusho vikṛitas tasya yāni māṁsāni saṅkṛitya sannyāsus tato hastī samabhavat* | *tasmād āhur* "*na hastinam*

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[38] *Avikṛitam kara-charaṇādi-vikāraḥ iti tad-rahitam* | Comm.

[39] *Samyag upachitaḥ samaḥ evāsīt* | Comm.

parigṛihṉīyāt purushājāno[40] *hi hastī" iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |*

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda, the author of the Brāhmaṉa proceeds:

"Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārttāṉḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape (without hands and feet, etc.). He was a smooth lump; of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, 'If in his nature he be not conformable to ours, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.' Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified (by possessing different members). An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, 'let no one catch an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man.' He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended."

HIRAṈYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, x. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiraṉyagarbhaḥ*[41] *samavarttatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ*[42] *patir ekaḥ āsīt | sa dādhāra pṛithivīm̐ dyām utemām̐ kasmai devāya*[43] *havishā vidhema* | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13: A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadāḥ baladāḥ yasya viśve upāsate praśisham̐ yasya devāḥ | yasya chhāyā amṛitam̐ yasya mṛityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi* | 3.

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[40] *Purushājānaḥ purusha-prakṛitikaḥ* | Comm.

[41] *Hiraṉye hiraṉya-purusha-rūpe brahmāṉḍe garba-rūpeṉa avasthitaḥ Prajāpatir Hiraṉyagarbhaḥ bhūtasya prāṉijātasya agre samavarttata prāṉijātotpatteḥ purā svayam̐ śarīra-dhārī babhūva* | Prajāpati Hiraṉyagarbha, existing as an embryo, in the egg of Brahmā, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*purusha*),—sprang into being before all living creatures; himself took a body before the production of all living creatures." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4. (Compare the words *hiraṇmayaḥ śakunir Brahma nāma* | "The golden bird, namely Brahma," in Taitt. Br. 3, 12, 9, 7.)

[42] *Jātaḥ.* Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1; R. V. x. 133, 2, *aśatrur Indra jajnishe*—"Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R.V. viii. 21, 13. . . . . . *tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi* | "Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow."

[43] *Kasmai devāya* | *Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya* | "*Kasmai*, 'to whom,' is for *Kāya*, the dative of *Ka*, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatir vai Kas tasmai havishā vidhema* | "Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations." S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, 7, 4, 1, 19.

(Vāj. S. 23, 3: A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yaḥ prāṇato nimishato mahitvā ekaḥ id rājā jagato babhūva | ya īśe asya dvipadaś chatushpadaḥ kasmai ityādi* | 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12: A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyeme himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā*[44] *sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū kasmai ityādi* | 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7: A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur ugrā prithivī cha driḷhā yena svaḥ stabhitaṁ yena nākaḥ | yo antarikshe rajaso vimānaḥ kasmai ityādi* | 6. *Yaṁ krandasī*[45] *avasā tastabhāne abhy aikshetām manasā rejamāne | yatrādhi sūraḥ udito vibhāti kasmai ityādi* | 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25: A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad brihatīr viśvam āyan garbhaṁ*[46] *dadhānāḥ janayantīr agnim | tato devānāṁ samavarttatāsur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi* | 8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yaś chid āpo mahinā paryapaśyad dakshaṁ dadhānāḥ janayantīr yajnam | yo deveshv adhi devaḥ ekaḥ āsīt kasmai ityādi* | 9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) *Mā no hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ prithivyāḥ yo vā divaṁ satyadharmā jajānā | yaś chāpaś chandrāḥ brihatīr jajāna kasmai*[47] *ityādi* | 10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20: A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3; Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūva | yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu vayaṁ syāma patayo rayīṇām* |

"1. Hiraṇyagarbha arose in the beginning; born, he was the one lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom two contending armies, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the risen sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who produced the great and brilliant waters!—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."

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[44] On the word *rasā*, see the second volume of this work, p. 343, note 119.

[45] *Krandasī* | "This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, as Mahīdhara *in loco* understands it, and Sayaṇa on R. V. ii. 12, 8, alternatively interprets,—the other sense assigned being, armies,—but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

[46] Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.

[47] I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Maṇḍala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . . . *kva svij jātaḥ kutaḥ ābabhūva* | 4. *ātmā devānām bhuvanasya garbho yathāvaśaṁ charati devaḥ eshaḥ | ghoshāḥ id asya śriṇvire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya havishā vidhema* | "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

On Prajāpati, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 352 f.; 390 ff.

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first eight verses in the Taittirīya Sanhitā iv. 1, 8, 3 ff., and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīdhara's Commentary on the first-named Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskṛit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotation on Vāj. S. 27, 5,=verse 7, the commentator Mahīdhara refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1: *Āpo ha vai idam agre salilam evāsa* | "This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;"[43] and explains the words *garbhaṁ dadhānāḥ*, "containing a germ," thus: *tathā garbhaṁ Hiraṇyagarbhalakshaṇaṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ataḥ eva agnim janayantīḥ agni-rūpaṁ Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ* | "And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden embryo *Hiraṉyagarbha*); and consequently generating, being about to produce, fire,—Hiraṉyagarbha in the form of fire." The Atharva-veda reads this seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): *Āpo agre viśvam āvan garbham̃ dadhānāḥ amṛitāḥ ṛitajnāḥ* | *yāsu devīshv adhi devaḥ asīt kasmai ityādi* | "In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god," etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: *Āpo vatsam̃ janayantīr garbham agre samairayan* | *tasyota jāyamānasya ulbaḥ āsīd hiraṉyayaḥ* | *kasmai devāya ityādi*—"In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which, as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering."

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[43] Compare R. V. vi. 50, 7, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 345; and the quotations from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa and other works in the next section.

The idea of the production of the divine principle by which the gods were animated (*asu*) from the embryo generated in the waters, contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7) is replaced, as we shall find, in the Brāhmaṉas and the later mythology by that of the generation of Prajāpati, or Brahmā, from the egg formed in the waters. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a "golden covering" to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: *Hiraṉyagarbham paramam anatyudyam janāḥ viduḥ* | *Skambhas tadagre prāsinchad hiraṉyam̃ loke antarā* | "Men know Hiraṉyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world."

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the A. V. in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following. [The whole of the hymn A. V. x. 7, and a portion of A. V. x. 8, are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 378 ff., which can be referred to.]

EXTRACTS FROM THE ATHARVA-VEDA, X. 7, AND X. 8.

A. V. x. 7, 7.—*Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat* | *Skambham̃ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ* | 8. *Yat paramam avamam̃* *yachcha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ sasṛije viśva-rūpam | kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babhūva* | 9. *Kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa bhūtam̃ kiyad bhavishyad anvāśaye 'sya | ekam̃ yad angam akṛiṉot sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra* | . . . . 17. *Ye purushe brahma vidus te viduḥ parameshṭhinam | yo veda parameshṭhinam̃ yaś cha veda Prajāpatim | jyeshṭham̃ ye brāhmaṉam vidus te Skambham anusam̃viduḥ* | . . . . 24. *Yatra devāḥ brahmavido brahma jyeshṭham upāsate | yo vai tān vidyāt pratyaksham̃ sa brahmā veditā syāt* | . . . . 32. *Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antariksham̃ utodaram | divam̃ yaś chakre mūrdhānam̃ tasṃai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṉe namaḥ* | . . . . 35. *Skambho dādhāra dyāvāpṛithivī ubhe ime Skambho dādhārorv antariksham | Skambho dādhāra pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvī(ḥ?) Skambhaḥ idam̃ viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa* | 36. *Yaḥ śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvān samānaśe | somam̃ yaś chakre kevalam̃ tasmai jyeshṭhāya brahmaṉe namaḥ* | . . . . 41. *Yo vetasam̃*[49] *hiraṉyayam̃ tishṭhantam salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* |

A. V. x. 8, 2.—*Skambheneme vishṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tishṭhatah | Skambhaḥ idam̃ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṉad nimishachcha yat* | . . . . 11. *Yad ejati patati yachcha tishṭhati prāṉad aprāṉan nimishach cha yad bhuvat | tad dādhāra pṛithivīm viśvarūpam̃ tat sambhūya bhavaty ekam eva* | . . . . . 44. *Akāmo dhīro amṛitaḥ svayambhūḥ rasena tṛipto na kutaśchanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānam̃ dhīram ajaram̃ yuvānam* |

A. V. x. 7, 7.—"Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine essence) in the Male (*Purusha*), know him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshṭhin*): he who knows Parameshṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

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[49] I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word *vaitasa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21. See also R.V. iv. 58, 5; and S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 11; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 384, note.

Brāhmaṇa (divine mystery), they know Skambha. . . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (*brahmā*) who knows them clearly, will be a knower. . . . . . 32. Reverence to that highest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head. . . . . 35. Skamba established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that highest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from austere fervour, has pervaded all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone. . . . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

A. V. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. . . . . 11. Whatever moves, flies, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—that omniform [entity] sustains the earth; that, combined, is one only. . . . . 44. Knowing that Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, immortal, satisfied with the essence, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Propper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, and Savitṛi.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

On the subject of this and the next sections compare the twenty-first section of the fifth volume of this work, pp. 350 ff.

SECT. II.—*Original non-entity; Prajāpati; primeval waters; mundane egg, etc., according to the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, Vishṇu Purāṇa, etc.*

The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—

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Asad vai idam agre āsīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṁ tad asad āsīd' iti | rishayo vāva te 'agre asad āsīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te ṛishayaḥ' iti | prāṇā vai ṛishayas te yat purā 'smāt sarvasmād idam ichhantaḥ śramena tapasā rishaṁs tasmād ṛishayaḥ | 2. *Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇaḥ esha evendraḥ | tān esha prāṇān madhyataḥ indriyeṇaindha | yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho ha vai tam Indraḥ ity āchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devās te iddhāḥ sapta nānā purushān asṛijanta* | 3. *Te 'bravan "na vai itthaṁ santaḥ śakshyāmaḥ prajanayitum imān sapta purushān ekam purushaṁ karavāma" iti te etān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan | yad ūrddhvaṁ nābhes tau dvau samaubjan | yad avāṇ nābhes tau dvau | pakshaḥ purushaḥ | pakshaḥ purushaḥ | pratishṭhā ekaḥ āsīt* | . . . . . 5. *Sa eva purushaḥ Prajāpatir abhavat sa yaḥ sa purushaḥ Prajāpatir abhavad ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś*[50] *chīyate* | 6. *Sa vai sapta-purusho bhavati | sapta-purusho hy ayam purusho yach chatvāraḥ ātmā trayaḥ paksha-puchhāni | chatvāro hi tasya purushasya ātmā trayaḥ paksha-puchhāni*[51] | *atha yad ekena purushena ātmānaṁ vardhayati tena vīryeṇa ayam ātmā paksha-puchhāni udyachhati* | . . . . . 8. *So 'yam purushaḥ Prajāpatir akāmayata 'bhūyān syām prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa śrāntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam asṛijata trayīm eva vidyām | sa eva asmai pratishṭhā 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya pratishṭhā' iti | tasmād anūchya pratitishṭhati pratishṭhā hy eshā yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito 'tapyata* | 9. *So 'po 'sṛijata vāchaḥ eva lokād vāg evāsya sā 'sṛijyata sā idaṁ sarvam āpnod yad idaṁ kincha | yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ*[52] | *yad avṛiṇot tasmād vāḥ* | 10. *So 'kāmayata 'ābhyo 'dbhyo 'dhi prajāyeya' iti so 'nayā trayyā vidyayā saha apaḥ prāviśat tataḥ āṇḍaṁ samavarttata tad abhyamṛiśad 'astv' ity 'astu bhūyo 'stv' ity eva tad abravīt | tato brahma eva prathamam asṛijyata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya prathamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt purushād brahma eva pūrvam asṛijyata tad asya tad mukham eva asṛijyata | tasmād anūchānam āhur 'Agnikalpaḥ' iti | mukhaṁ hy etad Agner yad brahma* |[53]

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[50] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 21 (pp. 502–3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713). According to vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14, Agni is the son of Prajāpati.

[51] Comp. vi. 2, 2, 4, and 9.

[52] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3; and vi. 1, 3, 1 ff.

[53] Compare Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 1 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 27 ff.

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], were worn out (*arishan*) with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra esoterically: for the gods love that which is esoteric. They [the gods] being kindled, created seven separate males (*purusha*). 3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate; so let us make these seven males one male.' So speaking, they made these seven males one male (*purusha*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] male [formed one] side; [another] male [another] side: and one formed the base. . . . . 5. This [one] male became Prajāpati. The male who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven males (*purusha*): for this male is composed of seven males, since [four] make the soul, and three the sides and extremity (*lit.*, tail). For the soul of this male [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one male, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity [which are only equal to three]. . . . . 8. This male (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I be multiplied, may I be developed.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation, for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.[54] Speech belonged to him. It was created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervadad (*āpnot*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*āpaḥ*); and because it covered (*avṛiṇot*), it was called *vāḥ* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered[55] the waters. Thence an egg arose. He handled it. He said to it, 'let it become,' 'let it become,' 'let it be developed.' From it the Veda was first created,[56] the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Male, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth."

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[54] This is illustrated by a passage in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (p. 617), which says: *vāg vai ajo vācho vai prajāḥ Viśvakarmā jajāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | *trayo lokāḥ ete eva* | *vāg -vāyam̃ loko mano 'ntariksha-lokaḥ prāṇo 'sau lokaḥ* | "It is they which are the three

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven males, occurs again in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1, and seems to be connected with the notion of Agni having the size of seven males. (See the commentary on S'atap. Br. x. 2, 2, 1).—*Yān vai tān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajāḥ asṛijata | sa prajāḥ sṛishṭvā ūrddhvaḥ udakrāmat | sa etaṁ lokam agachhad yatra esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anyaḥ etasmād atra yajniyaḥ āsa tam devāḥ yajnenaiva yashṭum adhriyanta | tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktaṁ 'yajnena yajnam ayajanta devāḥ ityādi* | "These seven males whom they made one male (*purusha*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where this scorches this. There was then no other being fit for sacrifice: the gods began to offer him with sacrifice. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods offered the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.[57]

II. In the preceding story, the gods are represented as the creators

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worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the atmospheric world, and breath is that world (the sky)." Regarding the action of Vāch in the creation, compare Weber's Ind. Stud. ix. 477 f., and the passages quoted from him in the fifth volume of this work, p. 391 f.

[55] Compare A.V. x. 2, 7 | *sa ā varīvarti bhuvaneshv antar apo vasānaḥ kaḥ u tach chiketa* | "He (Purusha) moves actively in the worlds, clothed with the waters: who has known this?"

[56] It had, however, been created before. See a few lines above.

[57] Compare S'atap. Br. x. 2, 3, 18.—*Saptavidho vai agre Prajāpatir asṛijyata.* These words are repeated in x. 2, 4, 8.

of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, which he entered, and from which sprang the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff.—*Āpo ha vai idam agre salilam evāsa*[58] | *tāḥ akāmayanta 'katham̃ nu prajāyemahi' iti tāḥ aśrāmyam̃s tās tapo 'tapyanta* | *tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṉmayam āṉḍam̃ sambabhūva* | *ājāto ha tarhi sam̃vatsaraḥ āsa* | *tad idam̃ hiraṉmayam āṉḍam̃ yāvat sam̃vatsarasya velā tāvat paryaplavata* | 2. *Tataḥ sam̃vatsare purushaḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ* | *tasmād u samvatsare eva strī vā gaur vā vaḍabā vā vijāyate sam̃vatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata* | *sa idam̃ hiraṉmayan āṉḍam̃ vyarujat* | *na aha tarhi kāchana pratishṭhā āsa* | *tad enam idam eva hiranmayam āṉḍam̃ yāvat sam̃vatsarasya velā āsīt tāvad bibhrat paryaplavata*[59] | 3. *Sa sam̃vatsare vyājihīrshat* | *sa 'bhūr' iti vyāharat sā iyam pṛithivy abhavad*[60] *'bhuvaḥ' iti tad idam antariksham abhavat 'svar' iti sā asau dyaur abhavat tasmād u sam̃vatsare eva kumāro vyājihīrshati sam̃vatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat* | . . . 6. *Sa sahasrāyur jajne* | *sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evam svasyāyushaḥ pāram parāchakhyau* | 7. *So 'rchan śrāmyam̃s chachāra prajākāmaḥ* |

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[58] S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasya āpaḥ eva pratishṭhā* | *apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ* | "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (= Bṛihad Āraṉyaka Upanishad, p. 974).—*Āpaḥ evedam agre āsuḥ* | *tāḥ āpaḥ satyam asṛijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devān* | "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods." Compare Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 5, 1 ff.; Taitt. Br. i. 1, 3, 5 ff.; and Taitt. Āraṉy. i. 23, 1 ff. quoted in pp. 31 and 52 f. of vol. i. this work. To the same effect is Taitt. Sanh. v. 7, 5, 3, *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt*. The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: *yā 'rṉave 'dhi salilam agre asīd yām māyābhir anvacharan manīshiṉaḥ* | "That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the sages followed after by their divine powers," etc. R. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the "divine first-born waters" (*āpo devīḥ prathamajāḥ*). The S'atap. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (*ayam̃ vai samudro yo 'yam pavate* | *etasmād vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṉi bhūtāni samuddravanti* |

[59] *Tasya Prajāpater āspadam̃ kimapi na babhūva sa cha nirādhāratvāt sthātum aśaknuvann idam eva bhinnam hiraṉmayāṉḍam punaḥ sam̃vatsara-paryantam bibhrad dhārayan tāsv evāpsu paryasravat* | "There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters." Commentary.

[60] Compare vol. iii. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 101, 104, and S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa ii. 1, 4, 11, p. 141.

sa ātmany eva prajātim adhatta sa āsyenaiva devān asṛijata | *te devāḥ divam abhipadya asṛijyanta tad devānām̃ devatvam̃ yad divam abhipadya asṛijyanta* | *tasmai sasṛijānāya divā iva āsa*[61] | *tad veva devānām̃ devatvam̃ yad asmai sasṛijānāya divā iva āsa* | 8. *Atha yo 'yam avāñ prāṇas tena asurān asṛijata* | *te imām eva pṛithivīm abhipadya asṛijyanta* | *tasmai sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva āsa* | 9. *So 'vet "pāpmānam̃ vai asṛikshi yasmai me sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva abhūd" iti* | *tām̃s tataḥ eva pāpmanā 'vidhyat* | *te tataḥ eva parābhavan* | . . . . 14. *Tāḥ vai etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asṛijyanta Agnir Indraḥ*[62] *Somaḥ Parameshṭhī prājāpatyaḥ* | . . . . 18. *Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravīd ityādi* |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a male (*purusha*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered 'bhūr,' which became this earth; 'bhuvaḥ,' which became this firmament; and 'svar,' which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created on reaching heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were created on reaching heaven (*divam*). To him while he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight (*divā*). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight. 8. Then from this lower breath he created the Asuras. They were created when they reached this world. To him, when creating, darkness, as it were, appeared. 9. He knew: 'I have created evil, since as I was creating, darkness, as it were, appeared.' He then pierced them with evil; and they in consequence were overcome . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati,—Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin, son of Prajāpati. . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

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[61] *Divā iva āsa* | *ākāśaḥ iva babhūva* | Comm. Comp. Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 9, translated in the first volume of this work, p. 30.

[62] In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned. See, however, the fifth volume of this work, where this subject is referred to.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): *Ādityo Brahma ity ādeśaḥ* | *tasyopavyākhyānam* | *asad eva idam agre āsīt* | *tat sad āsīt* | *tat samabhavat* | *tad āṉḍam niravarttata* | *tat sam̃vatsarasya mātrām aśayata* | *tad nirabhidyata* | *te āṉḍa-kapāle rajatam̃ cha suvarṉam̃ cha abhavatām* | *tad yad rajatam̃ sā iyam pṛithivī yat suvarṉam̃ sā dyaur yaj jarāyu*[63] *te parvatāḥ yad ulvam̃*[64] *sa megho nīhāro*[65] *yāḥ dhamanayas*[66] *tāḥ nadyo yad vāsteyam*[67] *udakam̃ sa samudraḥ* | *atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas tam̃ jāyamānam̃ ghoshāḥ ulūlavo*[68] *'nudatishṭhan* [*'nūdatishṭhan?*] *sarvāṉi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam*[69] *prati ghoshāḥ ulūlavo 'nutishṭhanti sarvāṉi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ* | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra: "The sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of 'ulu-ulu'], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day] of the sun, arise shouts of 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

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[63] *Garbha-veshṭanam̃ sthūlam* | Comm.

[64] *Sūkshmam̃ garbha-pariveshṭanam* | Comm.

[65] *Avaśyāyaḥ* (*frost*) | Comm.

[66] *S'irāḥ* | Comm.

[67] *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam* | Comm. "Abdominal," Wilson.

[68] *Ururavo vistīrṉa-ravāḥ udatishṭhann utthitavantaḥ* |

[69] *Pratyasta-gamanam . . . athavā punaḥ punaḥ pratyāgamanam* |

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise:

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vai rūpaṁ kritvā Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | yad asṛijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | Kaśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ 'sarvaḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapyaḥ iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo 'sau sa Ādityaḥ* | "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *kūrma*. Kaśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.'[70] This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

In the later mythology it is Vishṇu who assumes the form of a tortoise:

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishṇu's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhim mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa pṛishṭhe ekādaśe vibhuḥ* | "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "*Iyaty agre āsīd*" (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyatī ha vai iyam agre pṛithivy āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tām Emūshaḥ iti varāhaḥ*[71] *ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatiḥ tenaiva enam etanmithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā*[72] *samardhayati kṛitsnaṁ karoti ityādi* |

"'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him with this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc. Compare the passages from the Taittirīya Sanhitā and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc., quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 52 ff., and 181 ff.; and also the fifth volume of this work, pp. 390 ff.

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[70] Kaśyapa is mentioned in the A. V. xix. 53, 10 (see the fifth volume of this work, p. 408); as well as in two rather obscure verses of the Sāma-veda, which do not occur in the Rigveda. The first is i. 90: *Jātaḥ pareṇa dharmaṇā yat savṛidbhiḥ sahābhuvaḥ | pitā yat Kaśyapasyāgniḥ S'raddhā mātā Manuḥ kaviḥ* | "Since with thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is the father, Faith (S'raddhā) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kaśyapa." The second is i. 361: *Kaśyapasya svarvido yāv āhuḥ sayujāv iti | yayor viśvam api vrataṁ yajnaṁ dhīrāḥ nichāyya* | "Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the companions of the heavenly Kaśyapa; to whom twain [they declare] the entire power (or ceremonial) and sacrifice to belong."

[71] See R. V. viii. 66, 10.

[72] In regard to these words compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 4, 20.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (*varāheṇa kṛishṇena śata-bāhunā uddhṛitā*).

I quote some further texts from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, p. 26).

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ evāsa | sa aikshata 'kathaṁ nu prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāñchakre ityādi* | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth." Compare the passages quoted in the first vol. of this work, pp. 24, 69 ff.; in volume third, p. 4; and in volume fifth, pp. 390, ff.

In the next passage he is identified with Daksha:[73]

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir ha vai etenāgre yajñeneje prajākāmo 'bahuḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ syāṁ śriyaṁ gachheyaṁ yaśaḥ syām annādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Daksho nāma ityādi* | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daksha."

In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishṇu): *Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bibhartti* | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."[74]

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[73] See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above p. 12).

[74] In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ bibhartti tasmād esha bharataḥ* | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."

Compare the first verse of the Muṉḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuvanasya goptā*).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds:

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xiii. 2, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir akāmayata 'ubhau lokāv abhijayeyam̃ deva-lokancha manushya-lokancha' ityādi* | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and that of men," etc. Comp. S'atap. Br., x. 2, 1, 1.

In S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, Purusha Nārāyaṉa is introduced: *Purusho ha Nārāyaṉo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyam̃ sarvāṉi bhūtāny aham eva idam̃ sarvam̃ syām' iti* | *sa etam purusha-medham pancha-rātram̃ yajnakratum apaśyat tam āharat tena ayajata tena ishṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idam̃ sarvam abhavat* | *atitishṭhati sarvāṉi bhūtāni idam̃ sarvam bhavati yaḥ evam̃ vidvān purusha-medhena yujate yo vai etad evam̃ veda* |

"Purusha Nārāyaṉa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called 'purusha-medha' (human sacrifice) lasting five nights. He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the 'purusha-medha,'—he who so knows this." The Purusha-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted. Comp. S'atap. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In S'atap. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahma vai idam agre āsīt* | *tad devān asṛijata* | *tad devān sṛishṭvā eshu lokeshu vyārohayad asminn eva loke'gnim̃ Vāyum antarikshe divy eva Sūryam* | "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky." This passage is quoted at greater length in vol. v. of this work, p. 387 ff. Comp. the other passages quoted in pp. 378–390, and Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, cited in p. 361, note, of the same volume; and S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa xiv., 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛihadāraṉyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 235).

In S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xiii. 7, 1, 1, Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma vai svayambhu tapo 'tapyata* | *tad aikshata* *'na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshv ātmānam̃ juhavāni bhutāni cha ātmani' iti | tat sarveshu bhūteshv ātmānam̃ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshām bhūtānām̃ śraishṭhyam̃ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryait | tathaiva etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāṉi bhūtāni śraishṭhyam̃ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryeti |* "The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91). Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the 'sarvamedha' (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion."[75] See also S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2 f., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 372, note 554.

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on R. V. x. 129, and the passages of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, given above (pp. 20 ff.), or some other ancient sources of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines:

Āsīd idam̃ tamobhūtam aprajnātam alakshaṉam | apratarkyam avijneyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ | 6. *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān avyakto vyanjayann idam | mahābhūtādi vṛittaujāḥ prādurāsīt tamonudaḥ |* 7. *Yo 'sāv atīndriya-grāhyaḥ sūkshmo 'vyaktaḥ sanātanaḥ | sarva-bhūtamayo 'chintyaḥ sa eva svayam udbabhau |* 8. *So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apaḥ eva sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat |* 9. *Tad aṉḍam abhavad haimam̃ sahasrām̃śu-samaprabham | tasmim̃ jajne svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ |* 10. *Āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvam̃ tena Nārāyaṉaḥ smṛitaḥ |* 11. *Yat tat kāraṉam avyaktam̃ nityam̃ sadasadātmakam | tad-visṛishṭaḥ sa purusho loke Brahmeti kīrtyate |* 12. *Tasminn aṉḍe sa bhāgavān ushitvā parivatsaram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṉḍam akarod dvidhā |* 13. *tābhyām̃ sa śakalābhyāncha divam bhūmincha nirmame | madhye vyoma diśaś chashṭāv apām̃ sthānam̃ cha śāśvatam |*

5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undis-

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[75] See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 9 f.).

tinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtile, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He, desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' because they are the offspring of Nara; and since they were formerly the place of his movement (*ayana*), he is therefore called Nārāyaṉa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*purusha*) is known in the world as Brahmā. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9–11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṉa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of Vishṉu.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: '*Tad aṉḍam abhavad haimam' iti | tad vījam Parameśvarechhayā haiman aṉḍam abhavad haimam iva haimaṁ śuddhi-guṉa-yogād na tu haimam eva | tadīyaika-śakalena bhūmi-nirmāṉasya vakshyamāṉatvād bhūmeśchāhaimatvasya pratyakshatvād upachārāśrayaṉam . . . . . tasminn aṉḍe Hiraṉyagarbho jātavān | yena pūrva-janmani 'Hiraṉyagarbho 'ham asmi' iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Parameśvaropāsanā kṛitā tadīyaṁ linga-śarīrāvachhinna-jīvam anupraviśya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiraṉyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtaḥ* | "'That [seed] became a golden egg,' etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, *i.e.* as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here intended. . . . . In that egg Hiraṉyagarbha was produced: *i.e.* entering into the living soul,—invested with a subtile body,—of that person by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with the contemplation of distinctness and identity expressed in the words, 'I am Hiraṉyagarbha,' the supreme Spirit himself became manifested in the form of Hiraṉyagarbha."

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivam̃śa, vv. 35 ff.: *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sisṛikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apaḥ eva sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat | āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | ayanam̃ tasya tāḥ pūrvam̃ tena nārāyaṉaḥ smṛitaḥ | hiraṉyavarṉam abhavat tad aṉḍam udakeśayam | tatra jajne svayam Brahmā svayambhūr iti naḥ śrutam | Hiraṉyagarbho bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | tad aṉḍam akarod dvaidham̃ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor madhye ākāśam asṛijat prabhuḥ | apsu pāriplavām pṛithvīm̃ diśaścha daśadhā dadhe |*

"Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures, first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' for they are the offspring of Nara. They were formerly the place of his movement; hence he is called 'Nārāyaṉa.' That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard. The divine Hiraṉyagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two shells, the Lord created the æther, and the earth floating about on the waters, and placed the regions in ten directions."

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the production of Hiraṉyagarbha:

Harivam̃śa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-srashṭu-manāḥ devaś chintayāmāsa pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥsṛitaḥ purushaḥ kila | tataḥ sa purusho devam̃ kim̃ karomīty upashthitaḥ | pratyuvācha smitam̃ kṛitvā deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktvā gato 'ntardhānam īśvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya saśarīrasya bhāsvataḥ | pradīpasyeva śāntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritām̃ vāṉīm̃ so 'nvachintayata prabhuḥ | "Hiraṉyagarbho bhagavān yaḥ esha chhandasā stutaḥ | ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ pūrvam abhavad bhuvanādhipaḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti tasyādyo yajna-bhāgo vidhīyate | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktas tenāsmi sumahātmanā | katham ātmā vibhajyaḥ syāt sam̃śayo hy atra me mahān" |*

"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*purusha*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken, the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiraṇyagarbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. "Divide thyself,"—thus have I been commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.'" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 13 f., to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore, and essentially with the Bombay, editions), thus describes the origin of the world:

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imām̃ loka-samutpattim̃ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvam̃ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī yatra nirmitā* |[76] *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛijachcha jagat sarvam̃ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jajne Manur Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ* | *sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ityādi* |

Vaśishṭha says: "Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*. 4. He then, becoming a boar,[77] raised up the earth, and created the whole world *with the saints, his sons*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

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[76] See Appendix A.

[77] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 27.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the Gauḍa recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Vishṉu; and this I regard as one proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṉa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt vasudhā yena nirmitā* | *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṉur avyayaḥ* | 4. *Sa varāho 'tha bhūtvemām ujjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛijachcha jagat sarvam sacharācharam avyayam* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Tataḥ paryāya-sargeṉa Vivasvān asṛijad Manum ityādi* |

"Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṉu*. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, *movable and immovable, imperishable*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu," etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the third śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz. *Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*," is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṉur avyayaḥ*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṉu*," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṉu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel's recension, at the close of the fourth śloka, viz. *saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ*, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam avyayam*, "movable and immovable, and imperishable" —epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṉu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṉu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is.

Compare with the fifth verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel's text), the Vishṉu Purāṉa, i. 7, 1 ff.; quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 64 f. The accounts of Brahmā's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishṉu Purāṉa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 35 ff., and 64 f., of vol. i.

The origin of the world is similarly described in the Mahābhārata xii. 6805 f.

Bhṛigur uvācha | Prajā-visargam̃ vividham Mānaso manasā 'sṛijat | sam̃rakshaṉārtham bhūtānām̃ sṛishṭam prathamato jalam | yaḥ prāṉaḥ sarva-bhūtānam̃ vardhante yena cha prajāḥ | parityaktāś cha naśyanti tenedam̃ sarvam āvṛitam | pṛithivī parvatāḥ meghāḥ mūrtimantaś cha ye 'pare | sarvam̃ tad vāruṉam̃ jneyam āpas tastambhire yataḥ | . . . . Brahmakalpe purā brahman brahmarshīṉām̃ samāgame | loka-sambhava-sandehaḥ samutpanno mahātmanām | Te 'tishṭhan dhyānam ālambya maunam āsthāya niśchalāḥ | tyaktāhārāḥ pavana-pāḥ divyam̃ varsha-śatam dvijāḥ | teshām Brahmamayī vāṉī sarveshām̃ śrotram āgamat | divyā Sarasvatī tatra sambabhūva nabhastalāt | purā stimitam ākāśam anantam achalopamam | nashṭa-chandrārka-pavanam prasuptam iva sambabhau | tataḥ salilam utpannam̃ tamasīvāparam̃ tamaḥ | tasmāch cha salilotpīḍād udatishṭhata mārutaḥ |

"Bhṛigu says: Mānasa[78] (the Intellectual) formed by a mental effort the varied creation of living beings. For the preservation of creatures water was first produced,—water which is the breath of all creatures, by which they grow, and forsaken by which they die:—by it all things were covered. The earth, the mountains, the clouds, and other material objects;—all these things must be understood as aqueous, because the waters supported them." Bharadvāja asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bhṛigu replies: "Formerly, in an assemblage of Brāhman rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds as to the production of the worlds. These Brāhmans continued fixed in meditation and in silence, eating no food, drinking in only air, for a hundred years of the gods. A voice, of the essence of Brahmā, reached the ears of them all: the divine Sarasvatī sprang forth from the heavens. Formerly the infinite ether, motionless, like a mountain,—moon, sun and air having been destroyed in it,—appeared as it were asleep. Then water was produced like another darkness (*tamas*) in darkness, and from the foam of that water arose air."

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[78] This word is defined in v. 6775: *Mānaso nāma yaḥ pūrvo viśruto vai maharshibhiḥ | anādi-nidhano devas tathā 'bhedyo 'jarāmaraḥ |* "The primeval god, without beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and called by great rishis Mānasa," etc.

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahmā, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to Brahmā, is in works of a later date represented as the act of Vishṇu. The first passage forms a part of the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: *Dvitīyaṁ tu bhavāyāsya rasā-tala-gatām mahīm | uddharishyann upādatta yajneśaḥ saukaraṁ vapuḥ* | "Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar."

The second passage to be adduced is from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 57 ff. of Wilson's English trans., Dr. Hall's ed., vol. i.), and has been already partly quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 50 f.: *Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo 'sau kalpādau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchakshva mahāmune*[79] | *Parāśaraḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ | prajāpati-patir devo yathā tan me niśāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitaḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokaṁ avaikshata | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarūpī bhaga-*

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[79] I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 44 of Wilson's trans. in Dr. Hall's ed. vol. i.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which, if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreyaḥ uvācha | nirguṇasyāprameyasya śuddhasyāpy amalātmanaḥ | kathaṁ sargādikarttṛitvam Brāhmaṇo 'bhyupapadyate | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām achintya-jnāna-gocharāḥ | yato 'to Brahmaṇas tās tu sargādyāḥ bhāva-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreshṭha pāvakasya yathoshṇutā* | "Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers Since powers which could not be imagined [?] are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, O chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahma, as heat is an attribute of fire." Dr. Hall translates differently. See his note. Can the proper reading be *achintyāḥ* in place of *achintya?*

vān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | toyāntaḥ sa mahīṁ jnātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot sa tanūm anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikāṁ tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āshthitaḥ | veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam aśesha-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitaḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-gataiḥ siddhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṭutaḥ | praviveśa tada toyam ātmādhāro dharādharaḥ | nirīkshya taṁ tadā devī pātāla-talam āgatam | tushṭāva praṇatā bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasundharā | Pṛithvy uvācha | Namas te sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṁ śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddharāsmād adya tvaṁ tvatto 'ham pūrvam utthitā | . . . . sambhakshayitvā sakalaṁ jagaty ekārṇavīkṛite | śeshe tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno manīshibhiḥ | bhavato yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tan na jānāti kaśchana | avatāreshu yad rūpaṁ tad archanti divaukasaḥ | tvām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma yātāḥ muktim mumukshavaḥ | Vāsudevam anārādhya ko mokshaṁ samavāpsyati | . . . . tvaṁ yajnas tvaṁ vashaṭkāras tvam oṁkāras tvam agnayaḥ | . . . . Evaṁ samstūyamānas tu Pṛithivyā pṛithivī-dharaḥ | sāma-svara-dhvaniḥ śrīmān jagarjja parighurgharam | tataḥ samutkshipya dharāṁ sa daṁshṭrayā mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-padma-lochanaḥ | rasātalād utpala-patra-sannibhaḥ samutthito nīlaḥ ivāchalo mahān | . . . . evaṁ samstūyamānas tu Paramātmā mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīṁ kshipraṁ nyastavāṁś cha mahāmbhasi | tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatvāt tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam |

"Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivanśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form. As he had formerly, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. (so now), entering the body of a boar,—a form composed of the Vedas and of sacrifice,—the lord of creatures, who throughout the entire continuance of the world remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, the self-sustained, the supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints residing in the Janaloka, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, bowing down, prostrated in devotion, sang his praise: 'Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou assumest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the oṁkāra, thou art the fires.' . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up, resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain. . . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to some of the materials and implements of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 2nd ed., i., pp. 63 ff.] . . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk."[80] See also the Mahābhārata iii. 10932 ff.

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[80] Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishṇu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the first volume of this work, pp. 196 ff.); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athābravīd animishas tān ṛishīn sa hitas tada | aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-paraṁ nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyancha mayā 'smād mokshitāḥ bhayāt* | "Then the god (*lit.* the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish

The Linga Purāṇa, however, which is of the S'aiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Vishṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvara-jaṅgame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇaḥ iti smṛitaḥ | śarvary-ante prabuddho vai dṛishṭvā śūnyaṁ charācharam | srashṭuṁ tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | udakair āplutām kshmāṁ tāṁ samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ |* "In the night, when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

[In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s. v. varāha*, reference is made to a further passage from the Taitt. S. vi. 2, 42, in which the boar is mentioned (see above, pp. 27 f.). I quote this with another story which follows it: *Yajno devebhyo nilāyata Vishṇurūpam kṛitvā | sa pṛithivīm prāviśat | taṁ devāḥ hastān saṁrabhya aichhan | tam Indraḥ upary upary aty akrāmat | so 'bravīt "ko mā 'yam upary upary aty akramīd" iti | "aham ḍurge hantā" iti | atha "kas tvam" iti | "ahaṁ durgād āhartā" iti | so 'bravīd "durge vai hantā avochathāḥ | varāho 'yam vāmamoshaḥ saptānāṁ girīṇām parastād vittaṁ vedyam*

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you have been delivered from this danger.'" Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur. (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity ukto Vishṇurātena bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvācha charitaṁ Vishṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛitam | S'ukaḥ uvācha |* . . . . . 7. *āsīd atīta-kalpānte Brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplutās tatra lokāḥ bhūrādayo nṛipa |* 8. *Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātuḥ śiśayishor balī | mukhato niḥsṛitān vedāṉ Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat |* 9. *Jnātvā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshṭitam | dadhāra sapharīrūpam bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ ityādi |* "Being thus addressed by Vishnurāta, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Vishṇu done by him under the form of a fish. S'uka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Vish. Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 113; vol. v., p. 186); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this deed of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a sapharī fish," etc.

Asurāṉām bibharti tam̃ jahi yadi durge hantā 'si" iti | sa darbhapunjīlam udvṛihya sapta girīn bhittvā tam ahan | so 'bravīd "durgād vai āhartā avochathāḥ | etam āhara" iti | tam ebhyo yajnaḥ eva yajnam āharat | yat tad vittam̃ vedyam asurāṉām avindanta tad ekam̃ vedyai veditvam | Asurāṉām̃ vai iyam agre āsīt | yāvad āsīnaḥ parāpaśyati tāvad devānām | te devāḥ abruvann "astv eva no 'syām api" iti | "Kiyad vo dāsyāmaḥ" iti | yāvad iyam̃ salāvṛikī triḥ parikrāmati tāvan no datta" iti | sa Indraḥ salāvṛikī-rūpam̃ kṛitvā imām̃ triḥ sarvataḥ paryakrāmat | tad imām avindanta | yad imām avindanta tad vedyai veditvam | sā vai iyam̃ sarvā eva vediḥ |

"The sacrifice, assuming the form of Vishṉu, disappeared from among the gods, and entered into the earth. The gods joined hands, and searched for him. Indra passed over above him. He (Vishṉu) said, 'Who is this who has passed over above me?' (Indra replied:) 'I am he who slays in a castle; but now who art thou?' (Vishṉu said:) 'I am he who carries off from a castle.' He (Vishṉu) said: 'Thou hast said *a slayer in a castle.* This boar, the plunderer of wealth, keeps the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Kill him, if thou art a slayer in a castle.' He (Indra), plucking up a bunch of Kuśa grass, pierced through the seven hills, and slew him. He (Indra) then said: 'Thou hast said *I am he who carries off from a castle;* so carry him off.' He (Vishṉu), the sacrifice, carried off the sacrifice for them. Inasmuch as they obtained (*avindanta*) these goods of the Asuras, this is one reason why the altar is called *vedi.*

"This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, whilst the gods had only as much as a man can see when sitting. They (the gods) said, 'Let us have a share in this earth also?' 'How much shall we give you?' (asked the Asuras). 'As much as this she-jackal can go round in three (steps).' Indra, assuming the form of a she-jackal, stepped all round the earth in three (strides). Thus the gods obtained (*avindanta*) it. And from this circumstance the altar derives its name of vedi."

Compare the various stories about the original position of the gods in reference to the Asuras, given above, and in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 15, note].

To return to the mundane egg. In the Vishṉu Purāṉa i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sānkhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms here the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purāṉas would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with the current philosophical speculations: *Ākāśavāyu-tejām̃si salilam pṛithivī tathā | śabdādibhir guṉair brahman sam̃yuktāny uttarottaraiḥ | śāntāḥ ghorāś cha mūḍhāś cha viśeshās tena te smṛitāḥ | nānāvīryyāḥ pṛithag-bhūtās tatas te sam̃hatim̃ vinā | nāśaknuvan prajāḥ srashṭum asamāgamya kṛitsnaśaḥ | sametyānyonya-sam̃yogam paraspara-samāśrayāḥ | eka-sanghāta-lakshyāś cha samprāpyaikyam aśeshataḥ | Purushādhishṭhitatvāch cha Pradhānānugraheṉa cha | mahadādayo viśeshāntāḥ aṉḍam utpādayanti te | tat krameṉa vivṛidhham̃ tu jala-budbuda-vat samam | bhūtebhyo 'ṉḍam mahābuddhe vṛihat tad udake śayam | prākṛitam Brahma-rūpasya Vishṉoḥ sam̃sthānam uttamam | tatrāvyakta-svarūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpī jagat-patih | Vishṉur Brahma-svarūpeṉa svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyuś cha mahīdharāḥ | garbhodakam̃ samudrāś cha tasyāsan sumahātmanaḥ | sādri-dvīpa-samudraś cha sajyotir loka-sangrahaḥ | tasminn aṉḍe 'bhavad vipra sa-devāsura-mānushaḥ | vāri-vahny-anilākāśais tato bhūtādinā vahiḥ | vṛitam̃ daśaguṉair aṉḍam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | avyaktenāvṛito brahmam̃s taiḥ sarvaiḥ sahito mahān | ebhir āvaraṉair aṉḍam̃ saptabhiḥ prākritair vṛitam | nārikela-phalasyāntar vījam̃ vāhya-dalair iva | jushan rajo-guṉam̃ tatra svayam̃ viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtvā 'sya jagato visṛishṭau sampravarttate |*

"Ether, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,[81] but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, being dependent upon each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and favoured by Pradhāna (matter), these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishṉu in the form of Brahmā. There, undiscernible in his essence, Vishṉu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, O Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, ether, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way 'Ahankāra' was invested by 'Mahat'; and Mahat with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world."

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[81] See Wilson's Sānkhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishṉu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 38 ff.

The Vishṉu Purāṉa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc., etc.

The Linga Purāṉa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: *Mahadādi-viśeshāntāḥ hy aṉḍam utpādayanti cha | jala-budbuda-vat tasmāt avatīrṉaḥ Pitāmahaḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Vishṉur viśvagataḥ prabhuḥ | tasminn aṉḍe tv ime lokāḥ antar viśvam idam̃ jagat | aṉḍam̃ daśa-guṉenaiva nabhasā vāhyato vṛitam | ākāśaś chāvṛitas tadvad ahankāreṉa śabdajaḥ | mahatā śabda-hetur vai pradhānenāvṛitaḥ svayam | saptāṉḍāvaraṉāny āhus tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koṭy-ayutāny atra chāṉḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturvaktrāḥ Brahmāṉo Harayo Bhavāḥ | sṛishṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā S'ambhostu sannidhim ityādi |*

"And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe], who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishṉu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold ether; in like manner, the ether, sprung from sound, was surrounded by 'ahankāra';

the cause of sound (*ahankāra*) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalāsana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are declared (to exist), in which four-faced Brahmās, Haris, and Bhavas (Śivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Śambhu (Śiva)."

The Bhāgavata Purāṉa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an inquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreyaḥ uvācha* | *Daivena durvitarkyeṉa pareṉānimisheṉa cha* | *jātakshobhād bhagavato mahān asīd guṉa-trayāt* | 13. *Rajaḥ-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt* | *jātaḥ sasarjja bhūtādir viyadādīni panchaśaḥ* | 14. *Tāni chaikaikaśaḥ srashṭum asamarthāni bhautikam* | *saṁhatya daiva-yogena haimam aṉḍam avāsṛijan* | 15. *So 'śayishṭābdhi-salile aṉḍa-kosho nirātmakaḥ* | *sāgraṁ vai varsha-sāhasram anvavātsīt tam īśvaraḥ* | 16. *Tasya nābher abhūt padmaṁ sahasrārkorudīdhiti* | *sarva-jīva-nikāyauko yatra svayam abhūt Svarāṭ* | 17. *So 'nuvishṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śete salilāśaye* | *loka-saṁsthāṁ yathā-pūrvaṁ nirmame saṁsthayā svayā* |

"Maitreya said:

12. "The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (*bhūtādi* or *ahankāra*), characterized by the three qualities (*guṉas*), created the ether and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where Svarāṭ (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (*saṁsthā*) of the worlds with his own substance."

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: *Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni sapta* *vai | kāla-karma-guṉopeto jagadādir upāviśat* | 51. *Tatas tenānuviddhebhyo* [*kshubhitebhyaḥ*, Comm.] *yuktebhyo 'ṉḍam achetanam | utthitam Purusho yasmād udatishṭhad asau Virāṭ* | 52. *Etad aṉḍam viśeshākhyam̃ krama-vṛiddhair daśottaraiḥ | toyādibhiḥ parivṛitam pradhānenāvṛitair vahiḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yam̃ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ* | 53. *Hiraṉmayād aṉḍa-koshād utthāya salile-śayāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā nirbibheda kham* [*chhidram*, Comm.] 54. *Nirabhidyatāsya prathamam mukham̃ vāṉī tato 'bhavad ityādi* |

50. "When these seven principles, Mahat and the rest, remained uncombined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them, united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these principles penetrated by him, and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Purusha, viz., that Virāṭ. 52. This egg, named Viśesha (the specific) was surrounded by water, and other elements gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their turn were externally invested by Pradhāna. In this egg [was formed] this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Hari. 53. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures. 54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued," etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same Purāṉa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṉḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīvayat* | 35. *Sa eva purushas tasmād aṉḍam̃ nirbhidya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-anghri-bāhv-akshaḥ sahasrānana-śīrshavān*|

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Purusha issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: *Purusho 'ṉḍam̃ vinirbhidya yadā "dau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichhann apo 'srākshīch chhuchiḥ śuchīḥ | tāsv avātsīt svasṛishṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṉo nāma yad āpaḥ purushodbhavāḥ* |

10. "When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking

a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyan̲a, because the waters were produced from Purusha."

The story about Brahmā's incestuous passion for his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purān̲as, is thus noticed in the S'atapatha Brāhman̲a, 1, 7, 4,1 ff.[82]—*Prajāpatir ha vai svām̃ duhitaram abhidadhyau divam̃ vā ushasam̃ vā 'mithuny enayā syām' iti tam̃ sambabhūva*| 2. *Tad vai devānām āgaḥ āsa 'yaḥ ittham̃ svām̃ duhitaram asmākam̃ svasāram̃ karoti' iti* | 3. *Te ha devāḥ ūchur 'yo 'yam̃ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe 'tisandham̃ vai ayam̃ charati yaḥ ittham̃ svām̃ duhitaram asmākam̃ svasāram̃ karoti vidhya imam' iti* | *tam̃ Rudro 'bhyāyatya viryādha tasya sāmi retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnam̃ tad āsa* | 4. *Tasmād etad ṛishin̲ā 'bhyanūktam 'pitā yat svām̃ duhitaram adhishkan kshmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchad' iti tad āgni-mārutam ity uktham̃ tasmim̃s tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devāḥ retaḥ prājanayan* | *teshām̃ yadā devānām̃ krodho vyaid atha Prajāpatim abhishajyam̃s tasya tam̃ śalyam̃ nirakṛintan* | *sa vai yajnaḥ eva Prajāpatiḥ* |

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: '[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said: 'This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra aimed at, and pierced, him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 4. Accordingly this has been said by the ṛishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father embracing his daughter, uniting with her, discharged his seed on the earth,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow. Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred to in the preceding legend, which refers apparently to some atmospheric phenomenon. It is hard to say what gods or powers of nature are denoted by the father and the daughter respectively,[83] and the passage is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyaṉa's comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The 4th verse is addressed to the Aśvins. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (*Yathā svām̃śena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatim̃ Rudram asṛijat tad etad-ādibhir tisṛibhir vadati.*)

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[82] See the passages from the Aitareya Brāhman̲a and the Matsya Purān̲a on the same subject, with the remarks subjoined, in the first vol. of this work, pp. 107 ff.

R. V. x. 61, 4: *Krishṉā yad goshu aruṉīshu sīdad divo napātā Aśvinā huve vām* | *vītam me yajnam āgatam me annam̃ vavanvām̃sā na isham asmṛita-dhrū* | 5. *Prathishṭa yasya vīrakarmam ishṉad anushṭhitam̃ nu naryyo apauhat* | *punas tad āvṛihati yat. kanāyāḥ duhitur āḥ anubhṛitam anarvā* | 6. *Madhyā yat kartvam abhavad abhīke kāmam̃ kṛiṉvāne pitari yuvatyām* | *manānag reto jahatur viyantā sānau nishiktam̃ sukṛitasya yonau*[84] | 7. *Pitā yat svām̃ duhitaram adhishkan kshmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchat* | *svādhyo ajanayan brahma devāḥ vāstoshpatim̃ vratapām̃ niratakshan* |

"When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the Sky.[85] Come eagerly to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, as desiring sustenance, ye who do not disappoint my longings.[86] 5. That male, whose prolific virile (organ) was extended, now withdrew it, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] draws forth that which had been introduced [into the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] in the midst that which was to be done at their contact, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—separating from each other, they discharged a little seed which was shed on the surface, on the place of holy ceremonies. 7. When the father, bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth, the benevolent gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites."

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[83] In S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa vi. 1, 2, 1 ff., it is related that Prajāpati, being desirous of creating, connected himself with various spouses, or associates, for this purpose, first,—in the form of, or by means of, Agni,—with the Earth (*So 'gninā pṛithivīm mithunam̃ samabhàvat*): from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (*antariksha*, neuter), and again an egg was produced, and thence Āditya (the Sun); thirdly, through Āditya he connected himself with Dyaus (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly, sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (*manas*) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (*garbhī abhavat*).

[84] The same phrase occurs in R. V. iii. 29, 8.

[85] See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 234 and 239.

[86] Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmṛita-dhrū* from *a*+*smṛita*+ +*dhru*, "not suffering what I have desired to fall." See *s.v.* 2, *dhru*. Sāyaṉa renders it, *asmṛita-drohau mayi droham asmarantau* | "forgetting injury—forgetting injury to me."

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vāchaṁ duhitaraṁ tanvīṁ Svayambhūr haratīm manaḥ* | *akāmāṁ chakame kshattaḥ sakāmaḥ iti naḥ śrutam* | 29. *Tam adharme kṛita-matim vilokya pitaraṁ sutāḥ* | *Marīchi-mukhyāh munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan* | 30. *Naitạt pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare* | *yas tvaṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigṛihyāngajam prabhuḥ* | 31. *Tejīyasām api hy etad na suślokyaṁ jagadguro* | *yad vṛittam anutishṭhan vai lokaḥ kshemāya kalpate* | 32. *Tasmai namo bhagavate ya idaṁ svena rochishā ātmasthaṁ vyanjayāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati* | 33. *Sa itthaṁ gṛiṇataḥ putrān puro dṛishṭvā prajāpatīn* | *prajāpati-patis tanvaṁ tatyāja vrīḍitas tadā* | *tāṁ diśo jagṛihur ghorāṁ nīhāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ* |

"We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: 'This is such a thing as has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishṇu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.' Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness."

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛitvā "tmano deham arddhena purusho 'bhavat* | *arddhena nārī tasyām̃ sa Virājam asṛijat prabhuḥ* | "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)[87] Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishṉu Purāṉa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 65, and the passage from the S'atap. Brāhmaṉa cited in the same vol., p. 25 f.[88] On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Maṉḍala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the third vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṉas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṉa, and Kṛishṉa, are described.—See the passages from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.; the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff., quoted or abstracted in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 250 ff., and in Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṉa i. 48, 16 ff. (Schlegel's and Bombay ed., Gorresio's ed. i. 49); and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the first volume of this work, pp. 310, 466 (with note), and 467. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.[89]

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[87] *Maithuna-dharmeṉa Virāṭ-sanjnam purusham nirmitavān* |

[88] "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with S'atarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rāśiḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā* | *tasmān na kaśchid doshaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ* | "—Wilson's Vishṉu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 108, note. See the first vol. of this work, p. 112.

[89] Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk.

In the case of Kṛishna the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṉa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha* | *saṁsthāpanāya dharmasya praśamāyetarasya cha* | *avatīrṉo hi bhavagān aṁśena jagadīśvaraḥ* | 28. *Sa kathaṁ dharma-setūnāṁ vaktā kartā 'bhirakshitā* | *pratīpam ācharad brahman paradārābhimarśanam* | 29. *Āptakamo Yadu-patiḥ kṛitavān vai jugupsitam* | *kim-abhiprāyaḥ etaṁ naḥ saṁśayaṁ chhindhi suvrata* | *S'rī-S'ukaḥ uvācha* | 30. *Dharma-vyatikramo dṛishṭaḥ īśvarāṉāncha sāhasam* | *tejīyasāṁ na doshāya vahneḥ sarvabhujo yathā* | 31. *Naitat samācharej jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ* | *vinaśyaty ācharan mauḍhyād yathā 'rudro 'bdhijaṁ visham* | 32. *Īśvarāṉāṁ vachaḥ satyaṁ tathaivācharitaṁ kvachit* | *teshāṁ yat sva-vacho yuktam buddhimāṁs tat samācharet* | 33. *Kuśalācharitenaishām iha svārtho na vidyate* | *viparyayena vā 'nartho nirahankāriṉām prabho* | 34. *Kimutākhila-sattvānāṁ tiryañ-martya-divaukasām* | *īśituś cheśitāvyānāṁ kuśalākuṣalānvayaḥ* | 35. *Yat pāda-pankaja-parāga-nisheva-tṛiptāḥ yoga-prabhāva-vidhutākhila-karma-bandhāḥ* | *svairaṁ charanti munayo 'pi na nahyamānās tasyechhayā ''tta-vapushaḥ kutaḥ eva bandhaḥ* | 36. *Gopīnāṁ tat-patīnāncha sarveshām eva dehinām* | *yo 'ntaś charati so 'dhyakshaḥ krīḍaneneha deha-bhāk* | 37. *Anugrahāya bhūtānām mānushaṁ deham āśritaḥ* | *bhajate tādṛiśīḥ krīdāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tat-paro bhavet* | 38. *Nāsūyan khalu Kṛishṉāya mohitās tasya māyayā* | *manyamānāḥ sva-parśvasthān svān svān dārān Vrajaukasaḥ* | 39. *Brahma-rātre upāvṛitte Vāsudevānumoditāḥ* | *anichhantyo yayur gopyaḥ sva-gṛihān bhagavat-priyāḥ*[90] |

Lit., pp. 529 f. In the Rāmāyaṉa i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: *Dharma-dhurandharasyāpi S'akrasya adharme pravṛittau vījaṁ darśayitum āha* | "What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra's practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness."

[90] This passage is partly quoted in my Mata-parīkshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea's Dialogues, p. 383 f.

"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially[91] incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men's wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Kṛishṉa) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. S'uka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: any one who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.[92] 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, O king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, how can there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the gopīs (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their ruler, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he engages in sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Kṛishṉa, since, deluded by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the gopīs, beloved and gladdened by Kṛishṉa, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

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[91] Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. *Yas tu Nārāyaṉo nāma deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | tasyāṁśo mānusheshv āsīd Vāsudevaḥ pratāpavān |* See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.

[92] This refers to the poison drunk by S'iva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṉa i. 45, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṉu Purāṉa, note p. 78 (1st ed.). The passage of the Rāmāyaṉa will be quoted further in chap. iii., sec. vi.

This passage is followed (v. 40) by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṉa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Kṛishṉa's sports with the cowherds' wives, and who repeats it to others, shall attain to strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart (*vikrīḍitaṁ Vraja-vadhūbhir idaṁ cha Vishṉoḥ śraddhānvito 'nuśṛiṉuyād atha varṉayeḍ yaḥ | bhaktim parām bhagavati pratilabhya kāmaṁ hṛid-rogam āśv apahinoty achireṉa dhīraḥ*). A remarkable instance of homœopathic cure, certainly!

I quote the remarks of the commentator, S'rīdhara Svāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. *Parameśvare kaimutika-nyāyena parihartuṁ sāmānyato mahatāṁ vṛittam āha 'dharmavyatikramaḥ' iti | 'sāhasancha dṛishṭam' Prajāpatīndra-Soma-Viśvāmitrādīnāṁ | tachcha teshāṁ tejasvināṁ doshāya na bhavatīti |* 31. *Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati śreshthaḥ' iti nyāyena anyo 'pi kuryād ity āśankya āha 'naitad' iti | 'anīśvaro' dehādi-para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyatirikto visham ācharan bhakshayan |* 32. *Kathaṁ tarhi sadāchārasya prāmāṉyam ataḥ āha 'īśvarāṉām' iti | teshāṁ vachaḥ satyam atas tad-uktam āchared eva | ācharitaṁ kvachit satyam ataḥ 'sva-vacho yuktaṁ' teshāṁ vachasā yad uktam aviruddhaṁ tat tad eva ācharet |* 33. *Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evaṁ sāhasam ācharanti tatra āha 'kusale' ti | prārabdha-karma-kshapaṉa-mātram eva teshāṁ kṛityaṁ na anyad ity arthaḥ |* 34. *Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti | 'kuśalākuśalānvayo' na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthaḥ |* 35. *Etad eva sphuṭī-karoti | yasya pāda-pankaja-parāgasya nishevaṉena tṛiptāḥ yadvā yasya pāda-pankaja-parāge nishevā yeshāṁ te tathā te cha te tṛiptāścha iti bhaktāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā jnāninaś cha na nahyamānāḥ bandhanam aprāpnuvantaḥ | para-dāratvaṁ gopīnām angīkṛitya parihṛitam |* 36. *Idānīm bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryāmiṉaḥ para-dāra-sevā nāma na kāchid ity āha 'gopīnām' iti | 'yo 'ntaś charaty adhyaksho' buddhy-ādi-sākshī sa eva krīḍanena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshaḥ syād iti |* 37. *Nanv evaṁ ched āptakāmasya nindite kutaḥ pravṛittir ity āha 'anugrahāya' iti | śṛingāra-rasākṛishṭa-chetaso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parān kartum iti bhāvaḥ |* 38. *Nanv anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ sva-cheshṭitam evam eva iti vadanti tatrāha 'nāsūyann' iti | evambhūtaiśvaryābhāve tathā kurvantaḥ pāpāḥ jneyāḥ iti bhāvaḥ |*

"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *à fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed' are those of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmitra, and others; and these are not to be charged to them as faults. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,'[93] etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says, 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as any one separate from Rudra using,' swallowing, 'poison.' 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is [only] sometimes true [correct]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question why these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify [the consequences of] their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. [in the case of the supreme Vishṇu] there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet'; or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees'; further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The objection that the gopīs were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the gopīs,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to other men's wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within, the ruler,' the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. The author now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself even such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.[94] 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

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[93] This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Kṛishṇa, and perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with himself) had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 47):

Bhagavad Gītā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmaṇaiva hi sam̃siddham āsthitāḥ Janakādayaḥ | loka-sangraham evāpi sampaśyan kartum arhasi |* 21. *Yad yad ācharati śreshṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇam̃ kurute lokas tad anuvartate |* 22. *Na me Pārthāsti kartavyam̃ trishu lokeshu kinchana | nānavāptam avāptavyam̃ varte eva cha karmaṇi |* 23. *Yadi hy aham̃ na varteyam̃ jātu karmaṇy atandritaḥ | mama vartmānuvartante manushyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ |* 24. *Utsīdeyur ime lokāḥ na kuryām̃ karma ched aham | sankarasya cha kartā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ |* 25. *Saktāḥ karmaṇy avidvām̃so yathā kurvanti Bhārata ||* *kuryād vidvām̃s tathā 'saktaś chikīrshur loka-sangraham |* 26. *Na buddhi-bhedam̃ janayed ajnānām̃ karma-sanginām | joshayet sarva-karmāṇi vidvān yuktaḥ samācharan |*

"20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind.[95] 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Pṛithā, which I have to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, O son of Pṛithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people would be ruined if I did not practise works; and I should occasion a confusion of castes: I should destroy these creatures. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them, without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a distraction of mind among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

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[94] I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

[95] Compare Raghuvam̃śa iii. 46. . . . . *pathaḥ śucher darśayitāraḥ īśvarāḥ malīmasām ādadate na paddhatim |* "Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path."

I quote here some other interesting stories which I have observed in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. (Compare the fifth volume of this work, pp. 12–16.) The first extracts tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal, and what difficulties he encountered in the work of creation.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ūrddhvebhyaḥ eva prāṉebhyo devān*[96] *asṛijata ye 'vānchaḥ prāṉās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asṛijata |* 2. *Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva martyam āsīd ardham amṛitam | tad yad asya martyam āsīt tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām prāviśad dvayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha |* 3. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīt 'kva nu so 'bhūd yo no 'sṛishṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām prāvikshad' iti | so 'bravīd 'tam̃ vai anvichhāma tam̃ sambharāma na vai aham̃ tam̃ him̃sishyāmi' iti | tam̃ devāḥ asyāḥ adhi samabharan | yad asya apsv āsīt tāḥ apaḥ samabharann atha yad asyām̃ tām mṛidam | tad ubhayam̃ sambhṛitya mṛidancha apaścha ishṭakām akurvam̃s tasmād etad ubhayam*

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[96] The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2) as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, iv. 5, 7, 2: *Ashṭau Vasavaḥ ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ime eva dyāvā-pṛithivī trayastrim̃śyau | trayastrimśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiś chatustrim̃śaḥ |* "There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth."

ishṭakā bhavati mṛichcha āpaścha | 4. *Tad etāḥ vai asya tāḥ pancha martyās tanvaḥ āsan loma tvaṇ mām̃sam asthi majjā atha etāḥ amṛitāḥ mano vāk prāṇaś chakshuḥ śrotram* | . . . . . 6. *Te devāḥ abruvann 'amṛitam imam̃ karavāma' iti* | *tasya etābhyām amṛitābhyam̃ tanūbhyām etam martyām tanūm parigṛihya amṛitām akurvann ityādi* . . . . | 7. . . . . . . *tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat* . . . | . . .

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayam̃ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa martyam̃ chaiva amṛitancha* | *tasya prāṇāḥ eva amṛitāḥ āsuḥ śarīram̃ martyam* | *sa etena karmaṇā etayā āvṛitā ekadhā 'jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta* |

"Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he formed the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the creatures he created Death the devourer. 2. Of this Prajāpati, half was mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal, he was afraid of Death.[97] Fearing, he entered this [earth], having become two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, 'what has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you, he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz. earth and water. 4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear. . . . . 6. The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal . . . . . thence Prajāpati became immortal . . . . ."

x. 1, 4, 1.—"Prajāpati was formerly both of these two things, mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly undecaying and immortal."

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 4, 4, 1: *Prajāpatim̃ vai prajāḥ sṛijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhiparijaghāna* | *sa tapo 'tapyata sahasram̃ sam̃vatsarān pāpmānam̃ vijihāsann ityādi* | "Misery, death, smote Prajāpati when

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[97] Comp. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 3, 2, 1. *Devāḥ vai mṛityor abibhayuḥ, te Prajāpatim upādhāvan* | "The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajāpati," etc. See also S'atap. Br. x. 4, 2, 2, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 69.

he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from misery." See the passages to a similar effect, quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 68 ff., and S'atap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume, p. 349; and further the same Brāhmaṉa, iv. 6, 3, 1: *Prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasṛijānasya parvāṉi visasraṁsuḥ*: "As Prajāpati was creating living beings, his joints became relaxed," etc.

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality; and the first of them also informs us of a means whereby men may become immortal, after the decay of their bodies.[93]

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mṛityur yat sāṁvatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyuḥ kshiṉoty atha mriyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyuḥ kshiṉoti sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti* | 2. *Esha eva antakaḥ | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhaty*[99] *atha mriyante | tasmād esha eva antakaḥ | sa yo ha etam antakaṁ mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti* | 3. *Te devāḥ etasmād antakād mṛityoḥ saṁvatsarāt Prajāpater bibhayāñchakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ na gachhed' iti* | 4. *Te etān yajnakratūṁs tenire 'gnihotraṁ darśa-pūrṉamāsau chāturmāsyāni paśubandhaṁ saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajna-kratubhir yajamānāḥ na amṛitatvam ānaśire* | 5. *Te ha apy Agniṁ chikyire | te 'parimitāḥ eva pariśritaḥ upadadhur aparimitāḥ yajushmatīr aparimitāḥ lokampṛiṉāḥ yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devāḥ akurvann iti te ha na eva amṛitatvam ānaśire* | 6. *Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cherur amṛitatvam avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāṉi rūpāṉy upadhattha ati vā eva rechayatha na vā 'bhyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitāḥ bhavatha' iti* | 7. *Te ha ūchuḥ | 'tebhyo vai nas tvam eva tad brūhi yathā te sarvāṉi rūpāṉy upadadhāma' iti* | 8. *Sa ha uvācha shashṭiṁ cha trīṉi cha śatāni pariśritaḥ upadhatta shashṭiṁ cha trīṉi cha śatāni yajushmatīr adhi shaṭ-triṁśatam atha lokampriṉāḥ daśa*

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[93] Comp. S'atap. Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 14, note; and the same Brāhmaṉa ix. 3, 3, 2. In S'atap. Br. x. 3, 5, 13, happiness, or gladness, is said to be the soul or essence of all the gods (*ānandātmāno ha eva sarve devāḥ*).

[99] *Gachhati=gamayati* | Comm.

cha sahasrāṉy ashṭau cha śatāny upadhatta atha me sarvāṉi rūpāṉy upadhāsyatha atha amṛitāḥ bhavishyatha' iti | *te ha tathā devāḥ upadadhus tato devāḥ amṛitāḥ āsuḥ* | 9. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīd 'ittham eva sarve manushyāḥ amṛitāḥ bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati' iti* | *te ha ūchur 'na ato 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śarīreṉa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsai* | *atha vyāvṛitya śarīreṉa* [*śarīram vihāya*, Comm.] *amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṉā vā' iti* | *yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayā vā karmaṉā vā' ity eshā ha eva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u ha eva tat karma yad Agniḥ* | 10. *Te ye evam etad vidur ye vā etat karma kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti* | *te sambhavantaḥ eva amṛitatvam abhi sambhavanti* | *atha ye evam̃ na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punaḥ punar bhavanti* |

Śatapatha Brāhmaṉa, p. 787.—"It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, 'lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.' 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the agnihotra, the darśa and pūrṉamāsa, the chāturmāsyas (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the paśubandha, and the saumya adhvara: but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated pariśrits, yajushmatīs, lokampṛiṉās, without definite measure, as some even now[100] celebrate them. So did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. 6. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye either carry them to excess, or ye do not fully carry them out; hence ye do not become immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'Perform 63 hundred pariśrits, 63 hundred and 36 yajushmatīs, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokampṛiṉās: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'No other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then every one who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and from the fact of being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food."

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[100] This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṉa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xi. i. 2, 12.—*Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ asuḥ | sa yadā eva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitāḥ āsuḥ | sarvaṁ vai saṁvatsaraḥ | sarvaṁ vai akshayyam | etena u ha asya akshayyaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty akshayyo lokaḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal.[101] When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xi. 2, 3, 6.—*Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmaṉā "pur* (*vyāptāḥ*, Comm.) *atha amṛitāḥ āsuḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brahma, they became immortal" (see the context of this passage in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 388). Comp. Taitt. Br., iii. 10, 9, 1, quoted in the first vol. of this work, p. 71.

The following story describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāścha Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur*

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[101] See S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, ii. 2, 2, 8, quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.

dāyam[102] *upeyur vācham eva satyānṛite satyanchaiva anṛitancha* | *te ubhaye eva satyam avadann ubhaye 'nṛitam* | *te ha sadṛiśam̃ vadantaḥ sadṛiśāḥ eva āsuḥ* | 13. *Te devāḥ utsṛijya anṛitam̃ satyam anvālebhire* | *asurāḥ u ha utsṛijya satyam anṛitam anvālebhire* | 14. *Tad ha idam̃ satyam īkshānchakre yad asureshv āsa 'devāḥ vai utsṛijya anṛitam̃ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devān ājagāma* | 15. *Anṛitam u ha ikshānchakre yad deveshv āsa 'asurāḥ vai utsṛijya satyam anṛitam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma* | 16. *Te devāḥ sarvam̃ satyam avadan sarvam asurāḥ anṛitam* | *te devā āsakti*[103] *satyam̃ vadantaḥ aishāvīratarāḥ iva āsur anāḍhyatarāḥ iva* | *tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti satyam̃ vadaty aishāvīrataraḥ iva eva bhavaty anāḍhyataraḥ iva* | *sa ha tv eva antato bhavati*[104] *devaḥ hy evāntato 'bhavan* | 17. *Atha ha asurāḥ āsakty anṛitam̃ vadantaḥ ūshaḥ iva pipisur*[105] *āḍhyāḥ iva āsuḥ* | *tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakty anṛitam̃ vadaty ūshaḥ iva eva pisyaty āḍhyaḥ iva bhavati parā ha tv eva antato bhavati parā hy asurāḥ abhavan* | *tad yat tat satyam̃ trayī sā vidyā* | *te devāḥ abruvan 'yajnam kṛitvā idam̃ satyam̃ tanavāmahai'* | . . . . . 27. *Teshu preteshu tṛitīya-savanam atanvata* | *tat samasthāpayan* | *yat samasthāpayam̃s tat sarvam̃ satyam āpnuvam̃s tato 'surāḥ apapupruvire* | *tato devāḥ abhavan parā 'surāḥ* | *bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātṛivyo bhavati yaḥ evam̃ veda* |

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati,[106] obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras, abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood, have adopted truth; let me go to it.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth, have adopted falsehood; let me go to it.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth exclusively (or devotedly), the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks exclusively truth becomes, as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [prosperous], for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking exclusively falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks exclusively falsehood increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but succumbs in the end, for the Asuras succumbed. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'Let us, after performing sacrifice, celebrate this truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they celebrated the third Savana, and accomplished it. Inasmuch as they accomplished it, they found it entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and the gods became [superior, while] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

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[102] Compare S'atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.

[103] *Āsakti satyam* | *kevalam̃ satyam̃* | Comm.

[104] Some such preposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, "he really exists, continues, or prevails." Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

[105] I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisyati* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: *Pesukam̃ vai vāstu pisyati ha prajayā paśubhir yasya evam̃ vidusho 'nushṭubhau bhavataḥ* | "His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *anushtubhs*." The commentator explains the word *pesukam* as equal to *abhivardhana-śīlam*, "whose nature is to increase," and *pisyati* as meaning *ativṛiddho bhavati*, "he becomes exceedingly augmented."

[106] Comp. Taitt. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. *Ubhaye vai ete Prajāpater adhy asṛijyanta devāś cha asurāś cha* | *tān na vyajānād "ime anye ime anye" iti* | "Gods and Asuras were both created from Prajāpati. He could not distinguish the one as different from the other."

Another story relates to the same subject, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. i. 1, 1 (=xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): *Devāś cha vai Asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire | tato 'surāḥ atimānena eva "kasmin nu vayam̃ juhuyāma" iti sveshv eva āsyeshu juhvataś cheruḥ | te 'timānena eva parābabhūvuḥ | tasmād na atimanyeta | parābhavasya hy etad mukham̃ yad abhimānaḥ | 2. Atha devāḥ anyo 'nyasmin juhvataś cheruḥ | tebhyaḥ Prajāpatir ātmānam pradadau | yajno ha eshām āsa yajno hi devānām annam |* "The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Asuras, asking themselves to whom they should offer their oblations, through presumption went on placing them in their own mouths;[107] and in consequence of this their presumption they were overcome. Wherefore let no one be presumptuous; for presumption leads to defeat. 2. The gods went on offering their oblations to one another. Prajāpati gave himself to them; sacrifice became theirs; for sacrifice supplies the food of the gods."[108]

The following is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṉa, iii. 2, 9, 6 f.: *Asurānām̃ vai iyam agre āsīt | yāvad āsīnaḥ parāpaśyati tāvad devānām | te devāḥ abruvan "astv eva no 'yam api" iti "kyam̃ no dāsyatha" iti | "yāvat svayam parigṛihṉītha" iti |* "This [earth] formerly belonged to the Asuras. The gods had only as much as any one can see while sitting. The gods said to them, 'Let us also have a share in it. What will you give us?' 'As much as you yourselves can encompass.'" The different classes of gods then encompassed it on four sides.[109]

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—*Sarve ha vai devāḥ agre sadṛiśāḥ āsuḥ sarve puṉyāḥ | teshām̃ sarveshām̃ sadṛiśānām̃ sarveshām puṉyānām̃ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭhāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ Sūryaḥ |* 2. *Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān dadṛiśus tān atyagṛihṉata | tad yad enān atyagṛihṉata tasmād atigrāhyāḥ nāma | te 'tishṭhāvāno 'bhavan | yathā te etad atishṭhā iva atishṭhā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evam̃ vidushaḥ etān grahān gṛihṉanti |* 3. *No ha vai idam agre 'gnau varchaḥ āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etam̃ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṉīta tato 'sminn etad varchaḥ āsa |* 4. *No ha vai idam agre Indre ojaḥ āsa yad idam asminn ojaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayy ojaḥ syād' iti | sa etam̃ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṉīta tato 'sminn etad ojaḥ āsa |* 5. *No ha vai idam agre sūrye bhrājaḥ āsa yad idam asmin bhrājaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi bhrājaḥ syād' iti | sa etam̃ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṉīta tato 'sminn etad bhrājaḥ āsa | etāni ha vai tejām̃sy etāni vīryāṉy ātman dhatte yasya evam̃ vidushaḥ etān grahān gṛihṉanti |*

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: 'May we become superior,' viz. Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling.

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[107] Comp. the words *ye adhi śuptāv ajuhvata*, R. V. i. 51, 5; and Sāyaṉa's comment thereon.

[108] Comp. S'atap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: *Sarvesham̃ vai esha bhūtānām̃ sarveshām̃ devānām ātmā yad yajnaḥ |* "Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, of all the gods."

[109] Comp. S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2; xi. 2, 7, 26.

They saw these atigrāhyas;[110] they offered them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called atigrāhyas. They became superior. As they [became] thus, as it were, superior, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this graha, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3]. 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3]. That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas."

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[110] By this name are called "three particular grahas, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning "*haustus insuper hauriendus*," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

CHAPTER II.

VISHṆU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRĀHMAṆAS, THE ITIHĀSAS, AND THE PURĀṆAS.

SECT. I.—*Passages in the Hymns of the Ṛig-veda relating to Vishṇu.*

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff.: 16 (=S. V. 2, 1024). *Ato devāḥ avantu no yato Vishṇur vichakrame* | *pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ* | 17 (=S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4). *Idam̃ Vishṇur vichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam* | *samūḷham asya pām̃sure* [*pām̃sule* | S. V.] 18 (=S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5). *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Vishṇur gopāḥ adābhyaḥ* | *ato dharmāṇi dhārayan* | 19 (=S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6). *Vishṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspaśe* | *Indrasya yujyaḥ*[1] *sakhā* | 20 (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7). *Tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padam̃ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ* | *divīvi chakshur ātatam* | 21 (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44). *Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgṛivām̃saḥ samindhate* | *Vishṇor yat paramam padam* |

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishṇu strode[2] over the seven regions of the earth.[3] 17. Vishṇu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world, or

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[1] *Yujyo vā sakhā vā*, R. V. ii. 28, 10; *yuj*, i. 10, 9; *yujyāya*, ix. 66, 18.

[2] Mbh. S'ānti-Parva, v. 13171: *Kramaṇāch chāpy aham Pārtha Vishṇur ity abhisam̃jnitaḥ* | "And from striding, O son of Pṛithā, I am called Vishṇu." The A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshipper (*Prajāpater vai esha vikramān anuvikramate yaḥ upaharati*).

[3] Instead of the words *pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*, the Sāma-veda reads, *pṛithivyāḥ adhi sānavi*: "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his "Orient und Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishṇu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyaṇa to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.

his step, was] enveloped in his dust.[4] 18. Vishṉu, the unconquerable[5] preserver, strode three steps, thereby maintaining fixed ordinances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṉu, through which this intimate friend of Indra perceived[6] established laws. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṉu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up[7] [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṉu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;[8] where we have the following explanations of its purport, derived by Yāska from two older writers:—

Yad idam̃ kincha tad vikramate Vishṉuḥ | tridhā nidhatte' padam | 'tredhā-bhāvāya pṛithivyām antarikshe divi' iti S'ākapūṉiḥ | 'samārohāne vishṉupade gayaśirasi' ity Aurṉavābhaḥ | 'samūḍham asya pām̃sure' | pyāyane 'ntarikshe padam̃ na dṛiśyate | apivā upamārthe syāt | samūḍham asya pām̃sule iva padam̃ na dṛiśyate ityādi |

"Vishṉu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to S'ākapūṉi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurṉavābha. '*Samūḍham asya pām̃sure*,' i.e. his step is not seen in that prolific region, the atmosphere (*pyāyane antarikshe*): or the phrase may be metaphorical, 'enveloped in his dust, as it were, his step is not seen," etc.

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[4] According to Benfey, translation of S. V., p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishṉu's dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient und Occident," he explains it thus: "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disc from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3, "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

[5] *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṉu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe, which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

[6] Sāyaṉa gives to the root *spaś* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspaśe* by "received," and, in the "Orient und Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṉu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spaś* occur in the R. V.

[7] Benfey renders *samindhate* "glorify." The commentator on the Vāj. S. 34, 44, makes it *dīpayante = upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishṉu is in his highest position."

[8] Formerly cited in part in the second volume of this work.

The following is the comment of Durgāchārya[9] on this passage of the Nirukta:

Vishṇur Ādityaḥ | Katham iti yataḥ āha 'tredhā nidadhe padam' nidhatte padam̃ nidhānam padaiḥ | kva tat tāvat | 'pṛithivyām antarikshe divi' iti S̛ākapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā pṛithivyām̃ yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarikshe vaidyutātmaṇā | divi suryātmanā | yad uktam 'tam ū akriṇvan tredhā bhuve kam' (R. V. x. 88, 10) *iti | 'samārohaṇe' udaya-girāv udyan padam ekam̃ nidhatte | 'vishṇupade' madhyandine 'ntarikshe | 'gayasirasy' astam̃girāv ity Aurṇavābhaḥ āchāryo manyate |*

"Vishṇu is the sun [Āditya].[10] How so? Because [the hymn] says, 'in three places he planted his step'; i.e. plants his step, [makes] a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,' according to Sākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), 'They made him to become threefold." Aurṇavābha Āchārya thinks [the meaning is] this, 'He plants one foot on the 'samārohaṇa' (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the 'vishṇupada,' the meridian sky; [a third] on the 'gayaśiras,' the hill of setting."[11]

It thus appears from the statement of Yāska that the two old writers whom he quotes had proposed two different interpretations of Vishṇu's steps.

First: Sākapūṇi thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, and of the solar light in the sky, was intended in the hymn. This threefold distribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5:

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[9] Already quoted in the second volume of this work.

[10] The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishṇu: *Vishṇur yunaktu bahudhā tapām̃si asmin yajne suyujaḥ svāhā |*

[11] See Appendix B.

Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni ityādi |

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,[12] or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgātṛi are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them," etc.[13]

According to S'ākapūṉi, therefore, Vishṉu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurṉavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishṉu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting.[14] According to him, therefore, Vishṉu is simply the sun.

Sāyaṉa (see Professor Wilson's translation, p. 53, note) understands this passage as referring to the three steps of Vishṉu in his "Dwarf incarnation," of which I shall supply details further on. The commentator on the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā annotates thus on 5, 15 (=verse 17 of the hymn before us):

Vishṉus trivikramāvatāram kṛitvā idam viśvam vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad eva āha | tredhā padam nidadhe bhumāv ekam padam

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[12] Καὶ Γαῖα πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία, Æschylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.

[13] In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti |* "From the greatness of the Deity the one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul," etc. Compare Mr. Colebrooke's Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 76 of *Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record*, that these Essays are being reprinted under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. (August, 1872.)

[14] This is the view taken by Prof. Max Müller: "This stepping of Vishṉu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun," etc. Trans. of R. V., vol. i., p. 117.

antarikshe dvitīyam̃ divi tṛitīyam iti kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rupeṉa ity arthaḥ |

"Vishṉu, becoming incarnate as Trivikrama (the god who stepped thrice), strode over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the ṛishi] expresses [in the words], 'In three places he planted his step,' i.e. one step on the earth, a second in the atmosphere, and a third in the sky: in the successive forms of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya."

The commentator here combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṉu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of S'ākapūṉi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of S'ākapūṉi, or of Aurṉavābha, as handed down by Yāska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishṉu.[15]

I proceed to quote in order from the Rig-veda further texts relative to Vishṉu.

R. V. i. 61, 7: *Asyed u mātuḥ savaneshu sadyo mahaḥ pitum papivān chāru annā | mushāyad Vishnuḥ pachatam̃ sahīyān vidhyad varāham̃ tiro adrim astā*—"Having at the libations of that great measurer [of the worlds, *i.e.* Indra], drunk the potion, and [eaten] the pleasant oblations, the impetuous Vishṉu straightway stole the cooked mess, pierced the boar and shot through the mountain." See R. V. viii. 66, 10, below, and the quotation from Sāyaṉa's note on that verse.

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[15] The Brāhmaṉas, as well as the hymns, contain frequent allusions to the three steps or stations of Vishṉu. See the S'atap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 5, 4. The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has the following additional reference to them. According to the commentator, the interlocutors in the two verses are the brahman and udgātṛi priests. Vāj. Sanh., xxiii. 49: *Pṛichhāmi tvā chitaye devasakha yadi tvam atra manasā jagantha | yeshu Vishṉus treshu padeshu eshṭas teshu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa* | 50 | *Api teshu trishu padeshu asmi yeshu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa* | *sadyaḥ paryemi pṛithivīm uta dyām ekenāṅgena divo asya pṛishṭham* | "I ask thee, friend of the gods, that I may know, if thou by thy mind hast reached so far,—did Vishṉu, in the three steps (or spheres) in which he is worshipped, pervade the entire universe? | 50. I am even in those three steps by which he pervaded the entire universe. Straightway I move around the earth and heaven; with one member, (I move) over the surface of this sky."

R. V. i. 85, 7: *Te avardhanta sva-tavaso mahitvanā ā nākam̃ tasthur uru chakrire sadaḥ | Vishṉur yad ha āvad vṛishaṉam mada-chyutam̃ vayo na sīdann adhi barhishi priye |*

"They (the Maruts), strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishṉu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,[16] they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Uta no dhiyo go-agrāḥ Pūshan Vishṉo eva-yāvaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ* | 9. *śam̃ no Mitraḥ śam Varuṉaḥ śam̃ no bhavatu Aryamā | śam̃ naḥ Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ śam̃ no Vishṉur urukramaḥ |*

5. "Pūshan, Vishṉu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle and other possessions: make us prosperous. . . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuṉa, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishṉu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse (where two gods are alluded to), is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishṉu's praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Vishṉor nu kam̃*

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[16] Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *madasya harshasya āsektāram*, "dispenser of exhilaration" he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2 —where it is an epithet of Indra—by *śatrūṉām madasya garvasya chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V., viii. 1, 21, the word *madachyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt. [I leave my translation to stand as it was in the first edition. Benfey, however, "Orient und Occident," ii. 248, renders the clause about Vishṉu thus: "When Vishṉu protects the dropping (Soma) who distils intoxication," and refers to a paper of his own in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen regarding the relation of Vishṉu to Soma. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the word *madachyut*, as it is to be understood in this passage, is translated "delightful," "gladdening," "inspiring." Prof. Müller, Translation of R. V., vol. i., renders the clause, "When Vishṉu descried the enrapturing Soma." In his note, p. 116, he remarks: "Vishṉu, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra." After quoting various texts about the two gods, he adds, "The mention of Vishṉu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations." He says, p. 118, that "bringing down pride" is a meaning which the word madachyut clearly has not in the Veda. When applied to the thunderbolt, he says it ought to be rendered "wildly rushing down"; and when referred to Indra, his horses, or the Aśvins, or to horses in general, he would translate it by "furiously or wildly moving about."]

vīryāṉi pravocham̃[17] *yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajām̃si* | *yo askabhāyad uttaram̃ sadhastham̃ vichakramāṉas tredhā urugāyaḥ* | 2. (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3; Nir. 1, 20): *Pra tad Vishṉuḥ stavate vīryeṉa mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*[18] | *yasyorushu trishu vikramaṉeshu adhikshiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā* | 3. *Pra Vishṉave śūsham etu manma girikshite urugāyāya*[19] *vṛishṉe* | *yaḥ idam̃ dīrgham prayatam̃ sadhastham eko vimame tribhir it padebhiḥ* | 4. *Yasya tri pūrṉā madhunā padāni akshīyamāṉā svadhayā madanti* | *yaḥ u tridhātu pṛithivīm uta dyām eko dādhāra bhuvanāni viśvā* | 5. *Tad asya priyam abhi pātho* (R. V. iii. 55, 10) *aśyām̃ naro yatra devayavo madanti* | *urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Vishṉoḥ pade parame madhvaḥ utsaḥ* | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): *Tā vām̃ vāstūni uśmaṣi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛingāḥ ayāsaḥ* | *atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛishṉaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri* |

"I declare the heroic deeds of Vishṉu, who traversed the mundane regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishṉu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within [the range of] whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let my inspiriting hymn proceed to Vishṉu, the dweller in the [aerial] mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone traversed with three steps this wide, extended firmament;—4. Whose three [steps, or] stations, replenished with honey, imperishable, gladden us with food; who alone hath triply sustained the universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishṇu. 6. We yearn to attain to those abodes of you twain, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

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[17] The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya nu vīryāṉi pravocham*, etc. Compare R. V., ii. 15, 1.

[18] On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "*Kucharaḥ" iti charati karma kutsitam* | *atha ched devatābhidhānam̃ kva ayam̃ na charati iti* | *girishṭhāḥ giristhāyī giriḥ parvataḥ . . . . tat-prakṛiti itarat sandhi-sāmānyād megha-sthāyī megho 'pi girir etasmād eva* | "'*Kuchara*' is one who does (*charati*) a blamable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' '*Girishṭhāḥ*' means 'abiding in the mountains;' for *giri* means 'mountain.'" . . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, "a joint"; and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*, is applied to Indra in R. V., x. 180, 2 (=S. V., ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3). Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.*, think the word *Kuchara* may signify "slowly-moving," "slinking." The word *mṛiga* is applied to Varuṉa in R. V. vii. 87, 6.

[19] *Urugāyasya=pṛithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.*—Sāyaṉa on R. V. iii. 6, 4. *Urugāyasya=mahāgateh.*—Nir. ii. 7.

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyaṇa gives of the words *pārthivāni rajām̃si*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: *Yo Vishṇuḥ pārthivāni pṛithivī-sambandhīni rajām̃si ranjanātmakāni kshity-ādi-loka-trayābhimānīny Agni-Vāyv-Āditya-rūpāṇi rajām̃si vimame viśesheṇa nirmame | atra trayo lokāḥ api pṛithivī-śabda-vāchyāḥ | tathā cha mantrāntaram* (R. V. i. 108, 9), '*yad Indrāgnī avamasyām pṛithivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta stha' iti | Taittirīye 'pi* '*yo 'syām pṛithivyām asy āyushā' ity upakramya* '*yo dvitīyasyām̃ tṛitīyasyām pṛithivyām' iti | tasmāt lokatrayasya pṛivithī-śabda-vāchyatvam | . . . . yadvā yo Vishṇuḥ pārthivāni pṛithivī-sambandhīni rajām̃si adhastana-sapta-lokān vimame | . . . . rajaḥ-śabdo lokaḥ-vāchī* '*lokāḥ rajām̃sy uchyante' iti Yāskenoktatvāt | . . . . athavā pārthivāni pṛithivī-nimittakāni rajām̃si lokān vimame | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthāḥ | bhūmyām upārjita-kārma-bhogārthatvād itara-lokānām̃ tat-kāraṇatvam |*

"[The meaning is], Vishṇu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with *pṛithivī* (the earth),—the regions (*rajām̃si*),—the things whose nature is to delight (*ranjanātmakāni*),—existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, who represent the three worlds, the earth, etc. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term *pṛithivī*. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: 'Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (*pṛithivī*), in the middle [world], or in the highest,' etc. In the Taittirīya also, [we have the words] beginning with 'thou who with thy life art in this world,' etc.; [and proceeding] 'who in the second, or third world,' etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word *pṛithivī*. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishṇu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term *rajas* denotes a world, since Yāska says 'worlds are called *rajām̃si*.' . . . . Or [the sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth and the others. For as the other worlds are destined to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyaṇa, which gives the meanings of *rajas*: *Rajo rajateḥ | jyotiḥ rajaḥ uchyate | udakam̃ rajaḥ uchyate | lokāḥ rajām̃sy uchyante | asṛig*[20]*-ahanī rajasī uchyete | 'rajām̃si chitrāḥ vicharanti tanyavaḥ' ity api nigamo bhavati |*

"*Rajas* is derived from the root *raj*. Light is called *rajas*. Water is called *rajas*. The worlds are called *rajām̃si*. [Blood and day, or] day and night, are called *rajasī*. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), 'Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.'"—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rājām̃si*): *vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajām̃si*, "who established these six worlds."

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing,"[21] as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ*, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 16), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 260. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *vimimānaḥ* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya |* "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays,[22] beholding created things."

The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātuḥ rajaso vimānaḥ*[23] | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: *tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāyv-ātmanā rajaso 'ntarikshasya vimāno vimātā 'dhishṭhāta 'smi |* "Triply dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere."

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[20] Roth conjectures that the word *asṛik* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 40.

[21] See Böhtlingk and Roth *s. v. mā+vi*.

[22] The word *aktubhih* is rendered "nights" by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhiḥ*, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

[23] This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Pariśishṭa ii. 1.

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth," etc.

I shall adduce one other passage R. V. v. 81, 3 (=Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the world is ascribed to Savitṛi (the sun): *Yasya prayāṉam anv anye id yayur devāḥ devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā* | "He, the god whose course and whose might the other gods have followed with vigour, who measured [or traversed] the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitṛi is a steed."

This text is quoted and commented on in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, 6, 3, 1, 18: '*Yasya prayāṉam anv anye id yayur' iti | Prājāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot | tat tato devāḥ akurvan 'devāḥ devasya mahimānam ojasā' iti | yajno vai mahimā | devāḥ devasya yajnaṁ vīryam "ojasā" ity etad | 'yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśaḥ' iti | yad vai kincha asyāṁ tat pārthivam tad esha sarvaṁ vimimīte | raśmibhir hy enad abhyavatanoti | 'rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā' iti | ime vai lokāḥ rajāṁsi | asāv Āditya devaḥ Savitā | tān esha mahimnā vimimīte* | "'Whose course the other gods have followed.' Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] 'the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.' Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. 'He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.' Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. 'The god Savitṛi [measured out] the regions by his power.' These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitṛi. He measures them out by his power."

The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṉa introduces the words *pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṉu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimnaḥ uru-vikramato gṛināṉo yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi martyaḥ* | *kiṁ jāyamānaḥ uta jātaḥ upaiti martyaḥ ity āha mantradṛig ṛishiḥ puru-*

shasya yasya | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishṉu's) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can 'the mortal who is being born, or has been born,' attain to it? Thus speaks the ṛishi who saw a hymn regarding this Purusha."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Ūru bahu vikramato Vishṉor mahimnaḥ pāraṁ yo gṛiṉāno bhavati sa martyaḥ pārthivāni rajāṁsy api vimame gaṉitavān* | *yathā pārthiva-paramāṉu-gaṉanam aśakyaṁ tathā Vishṉor guṉa-gaṉanam aśakyaṁ ity arthaḥ* | *tathā cha mantro 'Vishṉor nu kaṁ vīryāṉi' iti* | *etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ sūchayann āha yasya purushasya pūrṉa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-dṛig ṛishir Vasishṭhaḥ ity evam āha* | *katham* | *kiṁ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko' pi iti vadann anantatvena eva āha ity arthaḥ* | *tathā cha mantro 'na te Vishṉo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa' iti* | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishṉu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishṉu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: 'I declare the heroic deeds of Vishṉu,' etc. Alluding to the sense of another verse (R. V. vii. 99, 2), he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Purusha, Vasishṭha, the seer of the hymn, thus speaks:' How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, O divine Vishṉu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness."

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: *Sarve 'pi raśmayo gāvaḥ uchyante* | . . . *tāni vāṁ vāstūni kāmayāmahe gamanāya yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛingāḥ* . . . *ayâso 'yanāḥ* | *tatra tad urugāyasya Vishṉor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham avabhāti bhūri* | "All rays are called *gāvaḥ*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest sphere, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishṉu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving, cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ['of you two'] cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dampātī abhipretya*, etc. ['*vām* refers to the husband and his wife.'] But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishṇu is referred to in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (6, 3)," which, instead of *tā vām̃ vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai*, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny uśmasi*, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishṇu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—*Pra vaḥ pāntam*[24] *andhaso dhiyāyate mahe śūrāya Vishṇave cha archata* | *yā sānuni parvatānām adābhyā mahas tasthatur arvateva sādhunā* | 2. *Tvesham itthā samaraṇam*[25] *śimīvator Indra-Vishṇū suta-pāḥ vām urushyati* | *yā martyāya partidhīyamānam it kṛiśānor astur asanām urushyathaḥ* | 3. *Tāḥ īm̃ vardhanti mahi asya paum̃syam̃ ni mātarā nayati retase bhuje* | *dadhāti putro avaram param pitur nāma tṛitīyam adhi rochane divaḥ* | 4. *Tat tad id asya paum̃syam̃ gṛiṇīmasi inasya trātur avṛikasya mīḷhushaḥ* | *yaḥ pārthivāni tribhir id vigāmabhir uru kramishṭorugāyāya jīvase* | 5. *Dve id asya kramaṇe svardṛiśo abhikhyāya martyo bhuraṇyati* | *tṛitīyam asya nakir ā dadharshati vayaś chana patayantaḥ patatriṇaḥ* | 6. *Chaturbhiḥ sākam̃ navatincha nāmabhiś chakram̃ na vṛittam̃ vyatīn avīvipat* | *bṛihachchharīro vimimānaḥ ṛikvabhir yuvā 'kumārah prati eti āhavam* |

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishṇu, who both swiftly rose invincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are violent,—who avert from the [pious] mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiśānu. 3. These [libations, according to Sāyaṉa] augment his virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the innoxious, the bountiful, who with three steps traversed[26] far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.[27] 5. A mortal is agitated when contemplating two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dares to attempt his third step,[27*] not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. With four and ninety names, he has impelled his steeds, like a rolling wheel. Accoutred by his encomiasts, vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat."

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[24] *Pāntam*=*pānīyam*.—Nir. vii. 25.
[25] *Samaraṇam̃ s.* =sangrāma-nāma.—Nigh. 2, 17.

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhava mitro na śevyo ghṛitāsutir vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayāḥ u saprathāḥ | adha te Vishṉo vidushā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajnaścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrvyāya vedhase navīyase sumajjānaye Vishṉave dadāśati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yujyaṁ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrvyaṁ yathā vida ṛitasya garbhaṁ janushā pipartana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktana mahas te Vishṉo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṉas tam Aśvinā kratuṁ sachanta mārutasya vedhasaḥ | dādhāra daksham uttamam aharvidaṁ vrajaṁ cha Vishṉur sakhivān aporṉute | 5. Ā yo virāya sachathāya daivyaḥ Indrāya Vishṉuḥ sukṛite sukṛittaraḥ | vedhāḥ ajinvat trishadhasthaḥ āryam ṛitasya bhāge yajamānām ā bhajat |*

"Be to us beneficent like a friend, worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Vishṉu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Vishṉu, the ancient, the disposer [or the wise], the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,[28]—he who extols the nature of this mighty Being, shall excel his friend[29] in renown. 3. Encomiasts, satisfy [with worship], as ye know how to do, him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name declare, 'Vishṉu, we enjoy the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṉa and the Aśvins have done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended by the Maruts. Vishṉu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;[30] and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishṉu, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god]; occupying three stations, has gratified the Ārya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

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[26] Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 63, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 69).

[27] Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (below).

[27*] See R. V. vii. 99, 1, below.

[28] Sāyaṉa gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jāni.* The first makes it *svayam evotpannāya*, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: *Sumat svayam ity arthaḥ* | "*sumat* means *svayam*, self"). The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutarām mādayati iti sumat* | *tadṛiśī jāyā yasya sa* . . . . | *tasmai sarva-jagan-mādana-śīla-S'rī-pataye* | "*su-mat* means 'greatly

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardhagarbhāḥ bhuvanasya reto Vishṉos tishṭhanti pradiśā vidharmaṉi | te dhītibhir manasā te vipaśchitaḥ paribhuvaḥ pari bhavanti viśvataḥ |* "Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishṉu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, embracing, comprehend all things."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Aśvināv avase kṛiṉudhvam pra Pūshaṉaṁ svatavaso hi santi | adveshо Vishṉur Vātaḥ Ṛibhukshāḥ achha sumnāya vavṛitīya devān |* "Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishṉu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Ṛibhukshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṉur*

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gladdening.' *Sumaj-jāni* then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase will thus mean, 'to the lord of S'rī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.'" Dr. Aufrecht thinks that *jāni* has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes *sumat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean "easily," "gladly."

[29] Compare the words *yujyo vā sakhā vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yujya* is explained by Sāyaṉa as = *yojana-samarthaḥ pitrādir vā;* and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word *yujya* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, "friendly." Compare also *ayuja* in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

[30] See the interpretation of the word *aharvid* given by Sāyaṉa on R. V. i. 2, 2. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying "long known."

urugāyo namasyaḥ | *tvam brahmā rayivid Brahmaṉaspate tvaṁ vidhartaḥ sachase purandhyā* | "Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; thou art Vishṉu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmaṉaspati, art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with sacred wisdom."

R.V. ii. 22, 1 (S.V. i. 457).—*Trikadrukeshu mahisho yavāśiraṁ tuviśushmas tṛipat somam apibad Vishṉunā sutaṁ yathā 'vaśat* | *sa īm mamāda mahi karma kartave mahām uruṁ sa enaṁ saśchad devo devaṁ satyam Indraṁ satyaḥ Induḥ* | "The great [Indra], of mighty force, satiating himself, has drunk the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth by Vishṉu at the Trikadruka ceremony, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R.V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasthe dhruve ā nishatto antar dyāvā māhine haryamāṉaḥ* | *āskre sapatnī ajare amṛikte sabardughe urugāyasya*[31] *dhenū* | "The great [god, Agni,] is seated in his firm abode, beloved, between the mighty heaven and earth,—those two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], united, undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water." Agni himself may be the "wide-stepping god" intended here.

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṉuṁ stomāsaḥ puru-dasmam arkāḥ bhagasyeva kāriṉo yāmani gmas* | *urukramaḥ kakuho yasya pūrvīr na mardhanti yuvatayo janitrīḥ* | "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṉu, the worker of many wonders, like bàrds proceeding in the train of their lord. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose [will] the numerous, youthful, mothers do not disregard."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṉur gopāḥ*[32] *paramam pāti pāthaḥ*[33] *priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ* | *Agnis tā viśvā bhuvanāni veda mahad devānām asuratvam ekam* | "Vishṉu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,[34] undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

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[31] *Pṛithugamanasya adhika-stuter vā;* Sāyaṉa, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

[32] Compare R. V., i. 22, 18. The word Vishṉu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading." The hymn is, however, according to the Anukramaṉikā, one addressed to all the gods.

[33] *Pāthaḥ* occurs also in R. V. i. 154, 5. See above.

[34] Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimita*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇam Mitram eshām Indrā-Vishṇū Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-aśvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u vaha su-havishe janāya* | "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins" (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā mahe pushṭim-bharāya Pūshṇe kad Rudrāya sumakhāya havir-de | kad Vishṇave uru-gāyāya reto*[35] *bravaḥ kad Agne S'arave bṛihatyai* | "Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūshan? why to Rudra, the vigorous, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Vishṇu? why to the great S'aru (Nirṛiti?)."

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—*Uta mātā mahisham anvavenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ | Atha abravīd Vṛitram Indro hanishyan sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva* | "And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra], saying, 'My son, those gods forsake thee.' Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛitra, said, 'Friend Vishṇu, do thou stride vastly.'"

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—*Sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva dyaur dehi lokaṁ vajrāya vishkabhe | hanāva Vṛitraṁ riṇachāva sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave visṛishṭāḥ* | "'Friend Vishṇu, stride vastly;' Sky, give room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Vṛitra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulse of Indra."[36]

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[35] Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repas* = *āgas*, "sin." But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *śarave*, so as to give the sense, "our sin (understood), which is the *occasion for* the great arrow of destruction." Böhtlingk and Roth render *retas* by "libation."

[36] The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Vishṇu: *Tasmād Indro 'bibhed api Tvashṭā | Tvashṭā tasmai vajram asinchat | tapo vai sa vajraḥ āsīt | tam udyantuṁ na aśaknot | atha vai tarhi Vishṇur anyā devatā āsīt | so 'bravīd "Vishṇav ehi idam āharishyāvo yena ayam idam" iti | sa Vishṇus tredhā ātmanam vinyadhatta pṛithivyāṁ tṛitīyam antarikshe tṛitīyaṁ divi tṛitīyam | abhiparyāvartād hy abibhet | yat pṛithivyāṁ tṛitīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇv-anushṭhitaḥ | so 'bravīd "mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat te pradāsyāmi" iti | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagṛihṇāt | "adhāḥ mā" iti tad Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagṛihṇād "asmāsv Indraḥ indriyaṁ dadhātv" iti | yad antarikshe tṛitīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇv-anushṭhitaḥ | so 'bravīd "mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat*

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—*Vi Aryamā Varuṇaś cheti panthām ishas-patiḥ suvitam̃ gātum Agniḥ | Indrā-Vishṇū nṛi-vad u shu stavānā śarma no yantam amavad varūtham |* "Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and Vishṇu, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection."

R.V. v. 3, 1–3.—*Tvam Agne Varuṇo jāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi yat samiddaḥ | tve viśve sahasas-putra devās tvam Indro dāśushe mart-*

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te pradāsyāmi" iti | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagṛihṇāt | "dvir mā adhāḥ" iti tad Vishṇave atiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagṛihṇād "asmāsv Indraḥ indriyam̃ dadhātv" iti | yad divi tṛitīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇv-anushṭhitaḥ | so 'bravīd mā me prahāḥ | yena aham idam asmi "tat te pradāsyāmi" iti | "tvī" ity abravīt | "sandhām̃ tu sandadhāvahai | tvām eva praviśāni" iti | "yan mām praviśeḥ kim mā bhunjyāḥ" ity abravīt | "tvām eva indhīya tava bhogāya tvām praviśeyam" ity abravīt | tam̃ Vṛitraḥ prāviśat | udaram̃ vai Vṛitraḥ | kshut khalu vai manushyasya bhrātṛivyaḥ | yaḥ evam̃ veda hanti kshudham bhrātṛivyam | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagṛihṇāt | "trir mā 'dhāḥ" iti tad Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagṛihṇād "asmāsv Indraḥ indriyam̃ dadhātv" iti | yat triḥ prāyachhat triḥ pratyagṛihṇāt tat tridhātos tridhātutvam | yad Vishṇur anvatishṭhata Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat tasmād Aindrāvaishṇavam̃ havir bhavati | "Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvashṭri. Tvashṭri moistened for him the thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-fervour (*tapas*). He could not lift it. Now there was another deity, Vishṇu. Indra said: 'Come, Vishṇu, we two will take that whereby he is this [which he is].' Vishṇu divided himself into three parts, [placing] one on earth, a second in the air, and a third in the sky. For he was afraid of [Vṛitra's] development (*abhiparyāvartāt: yasmād asya Vṛitrasya abhiparyāvartāt sarva-dig-vyāpi-rūpāyāḥ vṛiddher ayam Indro'bibhet*, Comm.). With the third [of Vishṇu] which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by Vishṇu. Vṛitra said, 'Do not smite me: there is in me this energy: that I will give to thee.' He gave, and Indra took it, and passed it on to Vishṇu, [saying,] 'Thou hast supported me.' Vishṇu received it, [saying], 'May Indra impart energy to us.' Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishṇu] which was in the air." etc., as before. "Indra passed it on to Vishṇu, saying, 'Thou hast twice supported me,'" etc. "Indra then, followed by Vishṇu, lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishṇu] which was in the sky. Vṛitra said, 'Do not smite me; I will give thee that whereby I am that [which I am].' Indra agreed. 'Let us make an agreement; let me enter into thee' [said Vṛitra]. 'If thou enterest me, wilt thou eat me?' [replied Indra]. 'I will kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment' [answered Vṛitra]. He accordingly entered into him. Vṛitra is the belly. Hunger is man's enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Vṛitra gave Indra [that whereby he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] 'Thou hast thrice supported me,' passed it on to Vishṇu," etc., etc., as before. "From the circumstance that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the 'tridhātu' derives its character. And from the fact that Vishṇu followed Indra, and the latter passed on [what he had received] to the former, there is an oblation called 'Aindrāvaishṇava,' i.e. common to both the gods."

yāya | 2. *Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kanīnām nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharshi* | *anjanti mitram̃ sudhitam̃ na gobhir yad dampatī samanasā kṛiṉoshi* | 3. *Tava śriye Maruto marjayanta*[37] *Rudra yat te jamina chāru chitram* | *padam̃ yad Vishṉor upamam̃ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyam̃ nāma gonām* |

"Thou, Agni, [art] Varuṉa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods; thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-sustaining, possessest the mysterious name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest the husband and wife to be of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts have adorned themselves, such is that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.[38] Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṉu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2–4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṉa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṉo* | *ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta* | 3. *Indrāgnī Mitrā-Varuṉā Aditim̃ svaḥ pṛithivīm̃ dyām Marutaḥ parvatāṅ apaḥ* | *huve Vishṉum Pūshaṉam Brahmaṉaspatim Bhagam̃ nu śam̃sam̃ Savitāram ūtaye* | 4. *Uta no Vishṉur uta Vāto asridho draviṉodāḥ uta Somo mayas karat* | *uta Ṛibhavaḥ uta rāye no Aśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhvā anu mam̃sate* |

2. "Agni, Varuṉa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and thou Vishṉu with the Maruts. Both the Aśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, are pleased. 3. I invoke Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṉa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, the Maruts, the Mountains, the Waters, Vishṉu, Pūshan, Brahmaṉaspati; I praise Bhaga and Savitṛi, that they may succour us. 4. And may Vishṉu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And the Ṛibhus, Aśvins, Tvashtṛi, and Vibhvan are favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R.V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajūr Mitrā-Varuṉābhyām̃ sajūḥ Somena Vishṉunā* | *ā yāhi Agne Atri-vat sute raṉa* | "Associated with Mitra and Varuṉa, associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

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[37] Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.

[38] This refers, Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishṇave Marutvate girijāḥ evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyave sukhādaye tavase bhandad-ishṭaye dhuni-vratāya śavase | . . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramaḥ samānasmāt sadasaḥ evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svād adhi shṇubhir vishpardhaso vimahaso jigāti śevṛidho nṛibhiḥ | . . . . 8. Advesho no Maruto gātum ā itana śrota havaṁ jaritur evayāmarut | Vishṇor mahaḥ samanyavo yuyotana smad rathyo na daṁśanā apa dveshāṁsi sanutaḥ |*

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born) hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop [of Maruts], impetuous, wearing beautiful rings, strong, rushing on exultingly,—to that power which delights in resounding. . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, O Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come in a friendly spirit to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu; like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R.V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yaṁ viśve Marutaḥ sajoshāḥ pachat śataṁ mahishān Indra tubhyaṁ | Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇi sarāṁsi dhāran vṛitrahanam madiram aṁśum asmai |* "For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, will magnify, Pūshan and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma."[39]

[39] To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā 'pibat sākam sāraṁsi triṁśatam | Indraḥ somasya kāṇukā |* "Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma. . . ." This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kāṇukā*, at the close. See Roth's Illust. of Nir. p. 60, f. In a review of Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes, vol. ii., in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachforschung, iv. 279, f., Prof. Weber refers to this passage. "Saras, a pond," he says, "in the sense of cup (R. V. viii. 66, 4. . . .), which reminds us of the 'weltmeer' (world-ocean) of our students, is no doubt merely a poetical metaphor." See also R. V. vii. 103, 7; viii. 7, 10." In R.V. v. 29, 7 f., Agni is said to have cooked three hundred buffaloes for Indra, who ate them, and drank three lakes of soma, when proceeding to fight with Vṛitra.

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R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryam̃ devebhir dhāyi viśvam* | *Ahim̃ yad Vṛitram apo vavṛivām̃sam̃ hann ṛijīshin Vishṉunā sachānaḥ* | "All divine power, like that of the Sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,[40] when thou, O impetuous [deity], associated with Vishṉu, didst slay Vṛitra Ahi, stopping up the waters."

R.V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra ūtaye Varuṉam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ kṛishva avase no adya* | *pra Pūshaṉam̃ Vishṉum Agnim Purandhim̃ Savitāram oshadhīḥ parvatām̃ścha* | "Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṉa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vishṉu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains."

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Tam̃ vaḥ Indram na sukratum̃ Varuṉam iva māyinam* | *Aryamaṉam̃ na mandram̃ sṛipra-*[41]*bhojasam̃ Vishṉum̃ na stushe ādiśe* | "I praise thee, of great power like Indra, wondrous in might like Varuṉa, pleasant like Aryaman, conferring large enjoyment like Vishṉu, that thou mayest bestow wealth."[42]

R.V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajām̃si vimame*[43] *pārthivāni triś chid Vishṉur Manave bādhitāya* | *tasya te śarmann upadadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā tanā cha* | "May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, under the protection afforded by thee, that Vishṉu who thrice traversed the mundane regions for Manu [or the Āryan man] when he was oppressed."[44]

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*Te no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajoshāḥ mīḷhushmanto Vishṉur mṛiḷantu Vāyuḥ* | *Ribhukshāḥ Vājo daivyo vidhātā Parjanyāvātā pipyatām isham̃ naḥ* | "May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Vishṉu, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ṛibhukshan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛi (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta replenish our store of nutriment."

[40] *Stotṛibhiḥ*, "worshippers," according to Sāyaṉa.

[41] The word *sṛipra* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10 = S. V. i. 217. By Yāska, Nir. vi. 17, it is derived from the root *sṛip*, "to go" (see Roth's Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyaṉa *sarpaṉa-śīla*, "going," *prasṛita*, "extended," etc. (See also Benfey's Glossary to the S. V.) The word *viśva-bhojasam* occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.

[42] Such is the sense assigned to *ādiś* by Sāyaṉa: in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word *pradeśana* rendered "a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends," etc.

[43] *Tribhir eva vikramaṉaiḥ parimitavān* | "measured with three strides."—Sāyaṉa. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 69, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).

[44] *Asurair him̃sitāya* | "injured by Asuras."—Sāyaṉa.

R. V. vi. 69, 1–8.—*Sam̃ vām̃ karmaṉā sam ishā hinomi Indrā-Vishṉū apasas pāre asya | jushethām̃ yajnam̃ dravinam̃ cha dhattam arishṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā | 2. Yā viśvāsām̃ janitārā matīnām Indrā-Vishṉū kalaśā soma-dhānā | pra vām̃ giraḥ śasyamānāḥ avantu pra stomāso gīyamānāso arkaiḥ | 3. Indrā-Vishṉū mada-patī madānām ā somam̃ yātam̃ dravino dadhānā | sam̃ vām anjantu aktubhir matīnām̃ sam̃ stomāsaḥ śasyamānāsaḥ ukthaiḥ | 4. Ā vām aśvāso abhimāti-shāhaḥ Indrā-Vishṉū sadhamādo vahantu | jushethām̃ viśvā havanā matīnām upa brahmāṉi śṛiṉutam̃ giro me | 5. Indrā-Vishṉū tat panayāyyam̃ vām̃ somasya made uru chakramāthe | akṛiṉutam antariksham̃ varīyo aprathatam̃ jīvase no rajām̃si | 6. Indrā-Vishṉū havishā vāvṛidhānā agrādvānā namasā rātahavyā | ghṛitāsutī draviṉam̃ dhattam asme samudraḥ sthaḥ kalaśaḥ somadhānaḥ | 7. Indrā-Vishṉū pibatam madhvo asya somasya dasrā jaṭharam pṛiṉethām | ā vām andhām̃si madirāṉi agmann upa brahmāṉi śṛiṉutam̃ havam me* | 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) *Ubhā jigyathur na parā jayethe na parā jigye kataraśchanainoḥ | Indraścha Vishṉo yad apaspṛidhethām̃ tredhā sahasram̃ vi tad airayethām* |

"Indra and Vishṉu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṉu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and are, [as it were,] the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṉu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you[45] twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṉu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotions and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṉu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;[46] ye made the atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence.[46*] 6. Indra and Vishṉu, gladdened by our oblation, ye to whom are due the first draughts of the soma, ye to whom offerings should be presented with reverence, and to whom butter is offered, bring us wealth, for ye are the ocean, the bowl in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishṉu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishṉu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."[47]

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[45] Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

[46] The commentator remarks on this: *Yadyapi Vishṉor eva vikramas tathāpy ekāthatvād ubhayor ity uchyate* | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishṉu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to S'iva.

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (=A. V. xix. 10, 9).—*S'am̃ no Aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ śam̃ no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | śam̃ no Vishṉuḥ śam̃ u Pūshā no astu śam̃ no bhavitram̃ śam u astu Vāyuḥ* | "May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishṉu, may Pūshan, may the Air,[48] may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

[46*] Comp. i. 155, 5, above.

[47] The commentator explains this as follows. *Yad yad vastu praty apaspṛidhethām asuraiḥ saha aspṛidhethām̃ tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā tridhā sthitam̃ sahasram amitam̃ cha vi tad airayethām̃ vyakramethām ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṉam ubhā jigyathur ity achchhāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jigyathur na parājayethe na parājigye iti na hi tayoḥ kataraśchana parājigye 'Indraś cha Vishṉo yad apaspṛidhethām̃ tredhā sahasram̃ vi tad airayethām' iti | Indraś cha ha vai Vishṉuś cha asurair yuyudhāte tāñ ha sma jitvā ūchatuḥ "kalpāmahai" iti | te ha tathā ity asurāḥ ūchuḥ | so 'bravīd Indro "yāvad evāyam̃ Vishṉus trir vikramate tāvad asmākam atha yushmākam itarad" iti | sa imān lokān vichakrame 'tho vedān atho vācham | tad āhuḥ "kim̃ tat sahasram" iti "ime lokāḥ ime vedāḥ atho vāg" iti brūyāt | "airayethām airayethām" ity achhāvākaḥ ukthye 'bhyasyati* | Ait. Br. 6, 15 (see Prof. Haug's translation, pp. 403, f.). "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṉa [the Aitareya, 6, 15,] says: 'ye both conquered; this is what the Achhāvāka priest [repeats]: for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished' [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishṉu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, let us divide [the world]. The Asuras said, be it so. Indra said, As much us this Vishṉu strides over in three strides, so much shall be ours; the rest yours. He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, what is that thousand? let him say, These worlds, these Vedas, then speech. The Achhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual, ye scattered, ye scattered.'" Comp. Taitt. S. vii. 1, 5, 5.

[48] The word *bhavitra* is explained by Sāyaṉa as =*bhuvanam antariksham udakam̃ vā*. "The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Vishṇuṁ nishikta-pāṁ śravobhir ityādi* | "Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies," etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro divaḥ ā pṛithivyāḥ Mitraṁ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim* | *Ā Aryamāṇam Aditiṁ Vishṇum eshāṁ Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām* | "Agni, from heaven and earth bring Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu to the hymns of these persons;[49] may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be gratified."

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya devasya mīḷhusho vayāḥ Vishṇor eshasya*[50] *prabhṛithe havirbhiḥ* | *vide hi Rudro rudriyam mahitvaṁ yāsishṭaṁ vartir Aśvināv irāvat* | "The branches of this prolific and rapid deity Vishṇu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Aśvins have come to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food."

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—*Dadhikrāṁ vaḥ prathamam Aśvinā Ushasam Agniṁ samiddham Bhagam ūtaye huve* | *Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-pṛithivī apaḥ svaḥ* | "I invoke you for succour, first Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, the Ādityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Sky."

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—*Etāḥ Agne āśushāṇāsaḥ ishṭīr yuvoḥ sachā abhi aśyāma vājān* | *mā Indro no Vishṇur Marutaḥ parikhyann ityādi* | "Breathing forth these petitions, may we, O Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain, obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts despise us," etc.

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[49] Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. esha*, conjecture that in this verse the correct reading is *eshām*, "the rapid," as an epithet of Vishṇu, and not *eshām*.

[50] Sāyaṇa interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Vishṇoḥ sarva-devātmakasya asya devasya anye devāḥ vayāḥ śākhāḥ iva bhavanti* | "Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods." He explains *eshasya* as follows: *Prabṛithe havirbhir havī-rūpair annaiḥ eshasya prāpraṇīyasya*, "one who can be brought by oblations of food." The same epithet *esha* is applied to Vishṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under this word. R.V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo maho Marutaḥ evayāvno Vishṇor eshasya prabhṛithe havāmahe* | *ityādi* | "At the offering of the rapid Vishṇu we invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruts," etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Vidma hi Rudriyāṇāṁ śushmam ugram Marutāṁ śimīvatām* | *Vishṇor eshasya mīḷhushām* | "For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruts, of the rapid Vishṇu, [all of them] prolific."

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—*Paro mātrayā*[51] *tanvā vṛidhāna na te mahitvam anu aśnuvanti* | *ubhe te vidma rajasī pṛithivyāḥ Vishṉo deva tvam paramasya vitse* | 2. *Na te Vishṉo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa* | *ud astabhnāḥ nākam ṛishvam̃ bṛihantam̃ dādhartha prāchīm̃ kakubham pṛithivyāḥ* | 3 (=Vāj. S. v. 16). *Irāvatī dhenumatī hi bhūtam̃ suyavasinī manushe*[52] *daśasyā* | *Vi astabhnāḥ rodasī Vishṉo ete dādhartha pṛithivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ* | 4. *Urum̃ yajnāya chakrathur u lokam̃ janayantā Sūryam Ushasam Agnim* | *dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā pṛitanājyeshu* | 5. *Indrā-Vishṉū dṛim̃hitāḥ S'ambarasya nava puro navatim̃ cha śnathishṭam* | *śatam̃ varchinaḥ sahasram̃ cha sākam̃ hatho aprati asurasya vīrān* | 6. *Iyam manīshā bṛihatī bṛihantā urukramā tavasā vardhayantī* | *rare vām̃ stomam̃ vidatheshu Vishṉo pinvatam isho vṛijaneshu Indra* | 7. (S. V. 2, 977; Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) *Vashaṭ te Vishṉo āsaḥ ā kṛiṉomi tad me jushasva S'ipivishṭa havyam* | *vardhantu tvā sushṭutayo giro me yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ* |

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishṉu, knowest the remotest [world].[52*] 2. No one, O divine Vishṉu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.[53] 3. [Ye two worlds,] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishṉu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelope the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishṉu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, destroyed in the battles the wonderful powers of the hostile (*dāsa*) Vṛishaśipra. 5. Indra and Vishṉu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn gladdens you twain, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishṉu and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Supply abundant nutriment in our habitations. 7. Vishṉu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

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[51] Compare *paro-mātram ṛichīshamam Indram ;* R. V. viii. 57, 1.

[52] Yajur-veda v. 16 reads *manave*.

[52*] Comp. R. V. i. 155, 5, above, p. 74.

[53] Compare Isaiah xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18.

S'ipivishṭa,[54] favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nu marto dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāśat* | *pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantam̃ naryam āvivāsāt* | 2. *Tvam̃ Vishṇo sumatim̃ viśvajanyām aprayutām evayāvo matim̃ dāḥ* | *parcho yathā naḥ suvitasya bhūrer aśvāvataḥ puruśchandrasya rāyaḥ* | 3. *Trir devaḥ pṛithivīm eshaḥ etām̃ vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā* | *pra Vishṇur astu tavasas tavīyān tvesham̃ hi asya sthavirasya nāma* | 4. *Vi chakrame pṛithivīm eshaḥ etām̃ kshetrāya Vishṇur manushe daśasyan* | *dhruvāso asya kīrayo janāsaḥ urukshitim̃ sujanimā chakāra* | 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) *Pra tat te adya S'ipivishṭa nāma aryaḥ śam̃sāmi vayunāni vidvān* | *tam̃ tvā griṇāmi tavasam atavyān kshayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke* | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) *Kim it te Vishṇo parichakshyam bhūt*[55] *pra yad vavakshe S'ipivishṭo asmi* | *mā varpo asmad apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samithe babhūtha* | (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice the swift god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name (nature) of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a devoted worshipper, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and dwellest beyond this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hadst thou to blame, that thou declaredst, 'I am S'ipivishṭa'? Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."[56]

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[54] See the note on this word where it occurs in the hymn next following.

[55] The Sāma-veda reads *parichakshi nāma*.

[56] The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: *Purā khalu Vishṇuḥ svam̃*

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indreṇa sarathaṁ yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyunā bhavathaḥ samokasā* | *yad Ādityebhir Ṛibhubhiḥ sajoshasā yad vā Vishṇor vikramaṇeshu tishṭhathaḥ* | "When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Ādityas and the Ṛibhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu."

rūpam parityajya kṛitrimaṁ rūpāntaraṁ dhārayan sangrāme Vasishṭhasya sāhāyyaṁ chakāra | *taṁ jānann ṛishir anayā pratyāchashṭe* | "Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognizing the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us (v. 7) that, "according to Aupamanyava, Vishṇu has two names, S'ipivishṭa, and Vishṇu, of which the former has a bad sense" (*S'ipivishṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dve namanī bhavataḥ* | *kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ*), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiṁ te Vishṇo 'prakhyātam etad bhavaty aprakhyāpanīyaṁ yan na prabrūshe* | *śepaḥ iva nirveshṭito 'smi ity apratipanna-raśmiḥ* | *api vā praśaṁsā-nāmaiva abhipretaṁ syāt* | *kiṁ te Vishṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyaṁ yad uta prabrūshe* | *S'ipivishṭo 'smi iti pratipanna-raśmiḥ* | *śipayo 'tra raśmayaḥ uchyante* | *tair āvishṭo bhavati* | *mā varpo asmad apagūha etat* | *varpaḥ iti rūpa-nāma . . . .* | *yad anya-rūpah samithe sangrāme bhavasi saṁyata-raśmiḥ* | "What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine, not to be declared, which thou tellest not? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' *i.e.* with rays obscured. Or, by *S'ipivishṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest?' 'I am *S'ipivishṭa*, *i.e.* one whose rays are displayed.' The word '*śipi*' here means 'rays;' with these he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form:' *varpas* is a word meaning 'form.' . . . . 'That thou art of another form in the battle (*samithe*=*sangrāme*), with thy rays withheld.'" See Taitt. S., vol. ii., p. 585. On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir. v. 9: "*Tat te 'dya S'ipivishṭa nāma aryaḥ śaṁsāmi*" | *aryo 'ham asmi īśvaraḥ stomānām* | *aryas tvam asi iti vā* | *taṁ tvā staumi tavasam atavyāṁs tavasaḥ iti mahato nāmadheyam udito bhavati* | *nivasantam asya rajasaḥ parāke parākrānte* | "'I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa.' I am *aryaḥ*, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' *Tavasa* is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (*parāke*=*parākrānte*) this lower world.'" From the above quotation, it appears that even in the time of Yāska, the sense of the word *S'ipivishṭa* was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, S'āntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Kṛishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (if the writer intended to represent Yāska as the Vedic ṛishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S'ipivishṭeti chākhyāyāṁ hīna-romā cha yo bhavet* | *tenāvishṭaṁ tu yat kinchich Chhipivishṭeti cha smṛitaḥ* | *Yāsko māṁ ṛishir avyagro naika-yajneshu gītavān* | *S'ipivishṭaḥ iti hy asmād guhya-nāma-dharo hy aham* | *stutvā māṁ S'ipivishṭeti Yāskaḥ ṛshir udāra-dhīḥ* | *mat-prasādād adho nashṭam Niruktam abhijagmivān* | "A bald man is designated by the word *S'ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that is called *S'ipivishṭa*. Yāska, the serene ṛishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of S'ipivishṭa. Yāska, that ṛishi of large understanding, having lauded me as S'ipivishṭa, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed."

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . . *Bṛihaspatim̃ Viśvāndevān aham̃ huve Indrā-Vishṇū Aśvināv āśu-heshasā* | "I invoke Bṛihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Vishṇu, and the Aśvins with quickly neighing steeds."

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam Indra Vishṇavi yad vā gha Trite Āptye* | *yad vā Marutsu mandase sam indubhiḥ* | . . . . 25. *Yad Indra pṛitanājye devās tvā dadhire puraḥ* | *ād it te haryatā harī vavakshatuḥ* | 26. *Yadā Vṛitram̃ nadī-vṛitam̃ śavasā vajrinn abadhīḥ* | *ād id ityādi* | 27. *Yadā te Vishṇur ojasā trīṇi padā vichakrame* | *ād id ityādi* |

"Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Vishṇu, or with Trita Āptya, or with the Maruts art exhilarated by libations. . . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds waxed strong. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛitra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Vishṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds waxed strong."

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996, f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tava dyaur Indra paum̃syam pṛithivī vardhati śravaḥ* | *tvām āpaḥ parvatāsaś cha hinvire* | 9. *Tvām̃ Vishṇur bṛihan kshayo*[57] *Mitro gṛiṇāti Varuṇaḥ* | *tvām̃ śardho madati anu mārutam* | 10. *Tvam̃ vṛishā janānām mam̃hisṭhaḥ Indra jajnishe* | *satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhishe* |

8. "Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Vishṇu, who dwells on high, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Of all beings, thou, Indra, hast been born the most bountiful hero; thou hast made all things altogether prolific."

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāvam urushyata divā-naktam̃ sudānavaḥ* | *arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi* | 12. *Aghnate Vishṇave vayam arishyantaḥ sudānave* | *śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittaye* | 13. (Nir. v. 1) *Tad vāryam vṛiṇīmahe varishṭham̃ gopayatyam* | *Mitro yat pānti Varuṇo yad Aryamā* | 14. *Uta naḥ sindhur apām̃ tad Marutas tad Aśvinā* | *Indro Vishṇur mīḍhvām̃saḥ sajoshasaḥ* |

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[57] Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *kshaya* by "king." Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihan kshayaḥ* by "high abode, *i.e.* heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods." He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *bṛihat-kshayaḥ*, "who dwells on high."

"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard[58] night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṉu. Listen, O self-moving Ocean, [to us] as your first thought. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuṉa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the Ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishṉu, all of them prolific, associated together, [bestow] that upon us."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishṉo Aśvinā Pūshan mākīnayā dhiyā | Indraḥ āyātu prathamaḥ sanishyubhir vṛishā yo vṛitrahā griṉe |* "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṉu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire [his blessing], as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛitra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishṉu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described:

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishuṉaḥ sūnaro yuvā anji ankte hiraṉyayam̃ | 2. Yonim ekaḥ ā sasāda dyotano antar deveshu medhiraḥ | 3. Vāśīm eko bibharti haste āyasīm antar deveshu nidhruviḥ | 4. Vajram eko bibharti haste āhitam̃ tena vṛitrāṉi jighnate | 5. Tigmam eko bibharti haste āyudham̃ śuchir ugro jalāsha-bheshajaḥ | 6. Pathaḥ ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā esha veda nidhīnām | 7. Trīṉi ekaḥ urugāyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti | 8. Vibhir dvā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāsā iva vasataḥ | 9. Sado dvā chakrāte upamā divi sam̃rājā sarpirāsutī | 10. Archantaḥ eke mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan |*

"One[59] is a youth, brown, variable,[60] active. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,[61] luminous, has seated himself on the place of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another[62] holds in his hand an iron axe, steadfast, among the gods. 4. Another[63] holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he slays his enemies. 5. Another,[64] bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another[65] watches the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,[66] wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others][67] ride on birds (horses) with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],[68] the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some, worshipping, have meditated a great sāma-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

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[58] Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nāvam* is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root *nu*, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: *Indum̃ nāvāḥ anūshata* | where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

[59] Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gaṉa*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *babhru*, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

[60] Böhtlingk and Roth understand *vishuṉa* of the changing phases of the moon.

[61] Agni, according to the commentator. *Atra yonim iti lingād Agnir uchyate* |

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Ā śarma parvatānām vṛiṉīmahe nadīnām ā Vishṉoḥ sachā-bhuvaḥ* | "We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishṉu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—1. *Agninā Indreṉa Varuṉena Vishṉunā Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ūshasā Sūryeṉa cha somam pibatam Aśvinā* | 14. *Angirasvantā uta Vishṉuvantā Marutvantā jaritur gachhatho havam ityādi* | "Aśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṉa, Vishṉu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Ūshas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṉu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Vishṉur ābharad urukramas tvā ishitaḥ* | *śatam mahishān kshīra-pākam odanam̃ varāham Indra emusham* | "The wide-striding Vishṉu, urged by thee, O Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted in p. 67), in which Vishṉu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog, and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 81. See also the note there.

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[62] Tvashṭṛi.

[63] Indra.

[64] Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, *jalāsha-bheshaja*, is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jalāsha*, "healing."

[65] Pūshan.

[66] Vishṉu.

[67] The As'vins. In various passages of the R. V., the daughter of the Sun is said to ride on the car of the As'vins. See the account of these deities in the fifth volume of this work. In R. V. v. 73, 5, the goddess is called Sūryā.

[68] Mitra and Varuṉa.

Sāyaṉa gives two explanations of the verse (viii. 66, 10), that of the Nairuktas or etymologists, and that of the Aitihasikas or recorders of legends. I cite the latter only. The story there told is the same as I have already cited above (pp. 39 f.) from the Taittirīya Sanhitā; but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the following quotation consists of Sāyaṉa's own application of two Vedic texts, R.V. i. 61, 7, quoted above, p. 67, and viii. 66, 10, which has just been given.

Aitihāsika-pakshe | *charaka-brāhmaṉe itihāsaḥ āmnāyate* | " *Vishṉur yajnaḥ* | *sa devebhyaḥ ātmānam antaradhāt* | *tam anya-devatāḥ na avindan* | *Indras tv avet* | *sa Indram abravīt 'ko bhavān' iti* | *tam Indraḥ pratyabravīd 'aham durgāṉām asurāṉām̃ cha hantā* | *bhavām̃s tu kaḥ' iti* | *so 'bravīd 'aham durgād āhartā* | *tvam tu yadi durgāṉām asurāṉām̃ cha hantā tato 'yam̃ varāho vāmā-mushaḥ ekavim̃śatyāḥ purām pāre 'śmanmayīnām̃ vasati* | *tasminn asurāṉām̃ vasu vāmam asti* | *tam imam̃ jahi' iti* | *tasya Indras tāḥ puro bhittvā hṛidayam avidhyat* | *adhi tatra yad āsīt tad Vishṉur āharad" iti* | *so 'yam itihāso "asya id u mātuḥ savaneshu" "viśvā it tā Vishṉur" ity ābhyām pratipāditaḥ* | *tayor madhye "asya id u mātur" ity atra Vishṉunā "he Indra tvam 'durgāṉām̃ hantā' ity ātmānam̃ kathayasi tarhi vāma-musham̃ varāham asuram̃ jahi" ity uktārtho "vidhyad varāham" iti pādena pratipaditāḥ* | *Indreṉa cha ' Vishṉo tvam̃ "durgād āhartā" iti brūshe* | *mayā purāṉi jitāny asuraś cha ghātitas tasya vāmam̃ vasv ānaya' ity ukto Vishṉu-mūrtis tasya Varāhāsurasya dhanam mumosha* | *so 'rtho "mushāyad Vishṉuḥ pachatam" iti pādena sūchitaḥ* | *sa kim punar mushitavān iti tad atra uchyate "viśvā it tā" iti* |

"On the part of the Aitihāsikas a story is recorded in the Charaka Brāhmaṉa (i.e. the Brāhmaṉa of the Black Yajur Veda): 'Vishṉu is the sacrifice. He withdrew himself from the sight of the gods. The other gods did not discover him; but Indra knew [where he was]. He said to Indra, Who art thou? Indra replied, I am the destroyer of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am he who removes [the spoil] from the castle: but if thou art the destroyer of castles and Asuras, then this Varāha, a plunderer of goods, dwells on the other side of twenty-one stone ramparts; in him abide the wealth and property of the Asuras: slay him. Indra broke through these ramparts, and pierced his heart; and Vishṇu carried off all that was found there.' This story is set forth in the two verses, the one beginning 'Having at the libations,' etc. (R. V. i. 61, 7), and 'The wide-striding Vishṇu,' etc. (viii. 66, 10). In the fourth quarter of the first of these verses the words 'pierced the boar' (Varāha) refer to the clause of this story in which Vishṇu says, 'Thou, Indra, callest thyself a destroyer of castles; slay then the Asura Varāha, the plunderer of goods.' The third quarter of the same verse, 'the impetuous Vishṇu stole the cooked mess,' alludes to the other clause of the story in which the being in the form of Vishṇu, being addressed by Indra in the words, 'Vishṇu, thou callest thyself the being who carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the castles and slain the Asura; now, therefore, bring the treasures plundered, the property of the Asura Varāha.' But what was it that he plundered? That is declared in the words, the wide-striding Vishṇu, etc. (viii. 66, 10)." The verse is then explained. The story in the Brāhmaṇa seems to be made up from the obscure hints in the hymns.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eshāṁ Vishṇo sajātyānām | ita Maruto Aśvinā |* "Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somāḥ arshanti Vishṇave |* "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṇave |* "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tvam Indrāya Vishṇave svādur Indo pari srava | nṛīn stotṛīn pāhi aṁhasaḥ |* "Indu, do thou flow, sweet, to Indra, to Vishṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vishṇave somaḥ kalaśe aksharat | madhumān astu Vāyave |* "The soma, when poured forth, flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu."

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Apsāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṉāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṉave |* "Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṉa, the Maruts, and to Vishṉu."

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṉam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishṉum | matsi śardho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya |* "Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṉa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishṉu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts, thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry."

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnām̃ janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Vishṉoḥ |* "Soma is purified [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the Sky, the generator of the Earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Vishṉu."

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśishṭa, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matīnām̃ prakāśa-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ divo dyotana-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ pṛithivyāḥ prathana-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ Agner gati-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ Sūryasya svīkaraṉa-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ Indrasya aiśvarya-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ Vishṉor vyāpti-karmaṉām āditya-raśmīnām̃ ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmam | somaḥ ātmā apy etasmād eva indriyāṉām̃ janitā ity arthaḥ | api vā sarvābhir vibhūtibhir vibhūtaṭa (?) ātmā ity ātma-gatim āchashṭe |* "Soma is purified. Soma is 'sūrya' (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the Sky, i.e of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the Earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svīkaraṉa*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishṉu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations."

R. V. ix. 166, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366).—*Pavasva vāja-sātamaḥ pavitre dhārayā sutaḥ | Indrāya Soma Vishṉave devebhyo madhumattamaḥ |* "Soma, be purified, dispenser of strength, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indṛa, for Vishṉu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Vishṉur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bṛihann abhi pāti tṛitīyam | āsā yad asya payo akrata svaṁ sachetaso abhi achanti atra |* "Vishṉu, knowing thus his (Agni's) highest [birth-place], when born, the great being, protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face."[69]

R. V. x. 65, 1.—*Agnir Indro Varuṉo Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūshā Sarasvatī sajoshasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishṉur Marutaḥ Svar bṛihat Somo Rudro Aditir Brahmaṉaspatiḥ |* "Agni, Indra, Varuṉa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Ādityas, Vishṉu, the Maruts, the great Sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmaṉaspati."

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—*Aditir dyāvā-pṛithivī ṛitam mahad Indrā-Vishṉū Marutaḥ Svar bṛihat | devān Ādityān avase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitāraṁ sudaṁsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhir Varuṉo dhṛita-vrataḥ Pūshā Vishṉur mahimā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahma-kṛito amṛitāḥ viśva-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham aṁhasaḥ |*

"We invoke Aditi, Heaven and Earth, the great Ceremonial, Indra and Vishṉu, the Maruts, the great Sky, the divine Ādityas, to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitṛi, the wonder-working. 5. May Sarasvat, through our prayers, may Varuṉa, whose ordinances are fixed, Pūshan, Vishṉu, the great Power, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the immortals, offerers of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection from evil."

R. V. x. 92, 11.—*Te hi dyāvā-pṛithivī bhūri-retasā Narāśāṁsaś chaturango Yamo 'ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭā Draviṉodāḥ Ṛibhukshaṉaḥ pra rodasī Maruto Vishṉur arhire |* "The prolific Heaven and Earth, the four-limbed Narāśansa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭṛi, Draviṉodas, the Ṛibhukshans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishṉu have been honoured."

R. V. x. 113, 1.—*Tam asya dyāvā-pṛithivī sachetasā viśvebhir devair anu śushmam āvatām | yad ait kṛiṉvāno mahimānam indriyam pītvī somasya kratumān avardhata |* 2. *Tam asya Vishṉur mahimānam ojasā*[69a]

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[69] See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.

[69a] The same combination of words, *mahimānam ojasā*, occurs in R. V. v. 81, 3, above, p. 72.

aṁśuṁ dadhanvān madhuno vi rapśate | devebhir Indro maghavā sayāvabhir Vṛitraṁ jaghanvān abhavad vareṉyaḥ | "The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god exulted. 2. Vishṉu, in his might, bringing the soma plant, [the source of] his greatness, is full of the honied juice. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vṛitra, became distinguished."

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—*Mama devāḥ vihave santu sarve Indravanto Maruto Vishṉur Agnir ityādi* | "May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṉu, Agni," etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe*[70] | *Ādityān Vishṉuṁ Sūryam brahmāṇancha Bṛihaspatim* | . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Aryamaṉam Bṛihaspatim Indraṁ dānāya chodaya | Vātaṁ Vishṉuṁ Sarasvatīṁ Savitārancha vājinam* | "We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṉu, Sūrya, and the priest Bṛihaspati. 5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛihaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṉu, Sarasvatī, and Savitṛi, the heroic."

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Prathaś cha yasya Saprathaś cha nāma ānushṭubhasya havisho havir yat | Dhātur dyutānāt Savituś cha Vishṉoḥ rathantaram ā jabhāra Vasishṭhaḥ* | 2. *Avindan te atihitaṁ yad āsīd yajnasya dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat | Dhātur dyutānād Savituś cha Vishṉor Bharadvājo bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ* | 3. *Te 'vindan manasā dīdhyānāḥ yajuḥ skannam prathamaṁ devayānam | Dhātur dyutānād Savituś cha Vishṉor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam ete* |

"Vasishṭha has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṉu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received the Bṛihat from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, from Vishṉu, and from Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṉu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma."

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 5, 25, 5).—*Vishṉur yoniṁ kalpayatu Trashṭā*

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[70] The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads *anvārabhāmahe* instead of *gīrbhir havāmahe.*

rūpāṇi piṁśatu | ā sinchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātu te | "Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvashṭṛi mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātṛi form the embryo."

Sect. II.—*Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.*

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishṇu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 64 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śākapūṇi and Aurṇavābha, on the character of Vishṇu. The former regards him as a god who, in what are called his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurṇavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishṇu's three strides as the rising, culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishṇu as taking vast strides.

As the peculiar divine office of Vishṇu, indicated by his three steps, stages, or stations, was differently understood by the oldest interpreters whose opinions have been handed down to us, it is natural to suppose that it was not so clearly defined or understood as the functions of some of the other gods, as Agni and Indra for example. But the specific character of many, I may say most, of the Vedic gods is far from being distinctly determined in the hymns.

Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishṇu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun, the dawn and fire; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received the homage of Varuṇa; while in R. V. vii. 99, 2, his greatness is described as having no limit within the ken of present or future beings. The attributes ascribed to Vishṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these latter stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in R. V. iv. 18, 11, vi. 20, 2, and viii. 89, 12, he is the associate of Indra; in another text (R.V. viii. 15, 9), Vishṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Vishṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Vishṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Ṛishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Vishṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Vishṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Vishṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.[71]

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dīrghāya chakshase ā sūryam̃ rohayad divi ityādi* | "Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar," etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— . . . . *ayachhathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryam̃ dṛiśe* | . . . . 12. *Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanaḥ svabhūty-ojāḥ avase dhṛishan-manaḥ* | *chakṛishe bhūmim pratimānam ojasaḥ apaḥ svaḥ paribhūr eshi ā divam* | 13. *Tvam bhuvaḥ pratimānam pṛithivyāḥ ṛishva-vīrasya bṛihataḥ patir bhūḥ* | *viśvam ā aprāḥ antariksham mahitvā satyam addha nakir anyas tvāvān* | 14. *Na yasya dyāvā-pṛithivī anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānaśuḥ* | *nota svavṛishṭim made asya yudhyataḥ eko anyach chakṛishe viśvam ānushak* |

"Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed. . . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart[72] of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled[73] the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.[74] 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain (?); thou alone hast made everything else in due succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Divaś chid asya varimā vi paprathe Indram̃ na mahnā pṛithivī chana prati* | "His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id eva prariricha mahitvam̃ divas pṛithivyāḥ pari antarikshāt ityādi* | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

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[71] Compare the additional texts of the same tenor in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff.

[72] Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the second volume of this work, p. 362.

[73] Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

[74] Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).

R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā paprau pārthivaṁ rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | na tvāvān Indra kaśchana na jāto na janishyate ati viśvaṁ vavakshitha |* "He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe."

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nṛipate trīṇi rochanā | ati idaṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ vavakshitha aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi |* "The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy."[75]

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathachcha vajreṇa hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja | ahann Ahim ityādi |* "He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi," etc.

R. V. i. 121, 2.—*Stambhīd hā dyāṁ ityādi* | 3. . . . *tastambhad dyāṁ chatushpade naryāya dvipade |* "He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man."

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat*[76] | *Yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetāṁ nṛimṇasya mahnā sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | 2. *Yaḥ pṛithivīṁ vyathamānām adṛiṁhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt | yo antarikshaṁ vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | 9. . . . . *Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | 13. *Dyāvā chid asmai pṛithivī namete śushmāch chid asya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi* |

"He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains;

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[75] Compare R.V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

[76] *Kratunā karmaṇā paryabhavat paryagṛihṇāt paryarakshad atyakrāmad vā . . . nṛimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena.*—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *iti ṛisher dṛishṭārthasya prītir bhavaty ākhyāna-saṁyuktā* | "Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative."

who measured[77] the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra. 9. . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unskaken, he, O men, is Indra. . . . 13. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid," etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karaṇāni vocham | trikadrukeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna |* 2. *Avaṁśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī apṛiṇad antariksham | sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathach cha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra |* 3. *Sadmeva prācho vi mimāya mānair ityādi |*

"I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. From the three cups Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty space;[78] he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He measured with measures the eastern (regions) as an abode," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Ni sāmanām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahīm apārām sadane sasattha | astabhnād dyām̃ vṛishabho antariksham arshantu āpas tvayeha prasūtāḥ |* "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the blooming,[79] earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāma id namasā vṛiddham Indram bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaram̃ yuvānam | yasya priye mamatur yajniyasya na rodasī mahimānam mamāte |* 8. *Indrasya karma sukṛitā purūṇi vratāni devāḥ na minanti viśve | dādhāra yaḥ pṛithivīm̃ dyām utemām̃ jajāna sūryam ushasam̃ sudam̃sāḥ |* 9. *Adrogha satyam̃ tava tad mahitvam̃ sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somam | na dyāvaḥ Indra tavasas te ojo nāhā na māsāḥ śarado varanta*[80] |

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[77] Compare R.V. i. 154, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above, p. 69 ff.; and R.V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. The word here, however, may mean "constructed." With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 110).

[78] Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

[79] Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, explain *ishira* as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

[80] Compare verse 16 of this same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Na tvā bṛihanto adrayo varante |* "The mighty mountains do not stop thee."

"We worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved[81] worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.[82] 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. 9. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons, can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty."

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam pṛithivīm harivarpasam* | *adhārayad ityādi* | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form," etc.[83]

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavakshe Indro amitam ṛijīshī ubhe ā prapau rodasī mahitvā* | *ataś chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva* | "The impetuous[84] Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds."

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛitrahan* | *nakir eva yathā tvam* | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛitra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha kshām mahi daṁso vi ūrvīm upa dyām ṛishvo bṛihad Indra stabhāyaḥ* | *adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātarā yahvī ṛitasya* | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, of whom the gods are the offspring, the ancient and mighty parents of holy rites."

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[81] Sāyaṉa explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

[82] Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root *mā* "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatuḥ* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatuḥ* or *mamnatuḥ*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasavān* for *sasañvān*; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān asi yasya te 'nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ* | *mamnāte Indra rodasī* | "Thou art great, (thou) to whose energy the self-supporting Heaven and Earth have submitted themselves."

[83] In the hymn from which this verse is taken, the changes are rung on the words *hari*, *harita*, etc.

[84] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *ṛijīshin*, and Benfey's note 260, on R.V, i. 32, 6, in his "Orient und Occident." The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S.V., p. 162. See also his Glossary to the Sāmaveda, *s.v.* *ṛijīshin*.

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—*Satyam it tad na tvāvān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi* | "This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like thee, Indra, or greater than thee," etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā achyutā chit chyāvayante rajāṁsi* | *dyāvā-kshāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvaṁ dṛiḷham bhayate ajmann ā te* | "Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming."

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkair ityādi* | "I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying."

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tavishībhis tuvishmaḥ ityādi* | "Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds," etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—*Tava id Indra avamaṁ vasu tvam pushyasi madhyamam* | *satrā viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vṛiṇvate* | . . . . 22. *Abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ* | *īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛiśam īśānam Indra tasthushaḥ* | 23. *Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi*[85] |

"Thine, O Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou possessest the middle; verily thou rulest over all the very highest; none resist thee among the cattle. . . . . 22. We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee."

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V. 20, 87, 3).— . . . . *Ā Indra paprātha uru antarikshaṁ yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha* | . . . . "Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods."[86]

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[85] This entire hymn is translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.

[86] The words at the close of this verse occur also in R.V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivaḥ*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7 : *aṁhoḥ rājan varivaḥ Pūrave kaḥ* | "Thou affordedst relief to Pūru from his strait." The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāṁsi kṛiṇvan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean "wealth."

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—*Indro mahnā rodasī paprathach chhavaḥ Indraḥ sūryam arochayat* | *Indre ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire ityādi* | "The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: on Indra all the worlds are supported," etc.[87]

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—*Abhrātṛivyo anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi* | *yudhā id āpitvam ichhase* | "Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance."

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitā divo janitā pṛithivyaḥ ityādi* | "Generator of the sky, generator of the earth," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarāḍ asya bhuvanasya rājasi ityādi* | "Thou rulest a sole monarch over this world," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujo asamo nṛibhir ekaḥ kṛishṭīr ayāsyaḥ* | *pūrvīr ati pravāvṛidhe viśvā jātāny ojasā ityādi* | "Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquerable, has surpassed in power many tribes, and all creatures."

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāvaḥ Indra te śataṁ śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ* | *na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam ashṭa rodasī* | "If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could anything created, [nor] the two worlds."

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Pariśishta i. 1, ff.: *Atha imāḥ atistutayaḥ ity āchakshate api vā sampratyayaḥ eva syād mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ* | . . *Yadi te Indra śataṁ divaḥ śatam bhūmayaḥ pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryāḥ na dyāvāpṛithivyāv apy abhyaśnuvītām iti* | "Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity." Then, after citing passages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: "If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, O thunderer, nor heaven and earth, can equal thee."

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[87] In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vāvṛidhe vṛishṇyaṁ śavo made sutasya vishṇavi* | "Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the exhilaration of this soma, at the sacrifice." *Vishṇavi*, the word here rendered "sacrifice," is the locative case of vishṇu. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, think the word here has this sense, as the Brāhmaṇas frequently employ the phrase *yajno vai Vishṇuḥ* | "Vishṇu is the sacrifice." The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by *sarva-śarīra-vyāpake*, "That which pervades the whole body." Sāyaṇa, too, makes it =*kṛitsna-dehasya vyāpake* |

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Nakīm Indro nikartave na S'akraḥ pariśaktave viśvam̃ śṛiṇoti paśyati* | "Indra is not to be overcome, Sakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things."[88]

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā 'si kratvā śavasota dam̃sanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā* | *ā tvā ayam arkaḥ ūtaye vavartati yam̃ Gotamāḥ ajījanan* | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi ririkshe ojasā divo antebhyas*[89] *pari* | *na tvā vivyācha rajaḥ Indra pārthivam anu svadhām̃ vavakshitha* |

"A warrior, thou surpassest all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will."[90]

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathāḥ apūrvya Maghavan Vṛitra-hatyāya* | *tat pṛithivīm aprathayas tad astabhnāḥ uta dyām* | 6. *Tat te yajno ajāyata tad arkaḥ uta haskṛitiḥ* | *tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātam̃ yachcha jantvam* |[91]

"When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛitra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. 6. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, or shall be born."

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nu chid ādiśam̃ na minanti svarājyam̃ na devo na adhrigur janaḥ* | "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na tvā devāsaḥ āśata na martyāso adrivaḥ* | *viśvā*

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[88] This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

[89] Instead of *antebhyaḥ* the S. V. reads *sadobhyaḥ*.

[90] At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *ati viśvam vavakshitha* | "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 40 f. and 132; and Müller, Transl. of R. V. vol. i. pp. 49 ff.

[91] Compare the words *yad bhūtam̃ yachcha bhāvyam* in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See the first volume of this work, in the early part of which this entire hymn is translated.

jātāni śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi | 10 (S. V. i. 370). *Viśvāḥ pṛitanāḥ abhibhūtaraṁ naraṁ*[92] *sajūs tatakshur Indraṁ jajanuś cha rājase* | *kratvā varishṭhaṁ vare*[93] *āmurim uta ugram ojishṭhaṁ tavasam*[94] *tarasvinam* |

"Thee, O hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have equalled. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power, destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift."

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—*Tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvaṁ sūryam arochayaḥ* | *viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi* | "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat* | *na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanaḥ* | "When Maghavan has conquered spoils[95] from the sun, he is like a gamester who gathers in his gains at play.[96] No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can imitate that thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram atakshad āyasam mayi devāso avṛijann api kratum* | *mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām āryanti kṛitena kartvena cha* | "Tvashṭṛi fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).— . . . *viśvasmād Indraḥ uttaraḥ* | (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) "Indra is superior to every other."

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[92] The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

[93] The Sāma-veda reads *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*. It is difficult to assign a sense to *vare* in the text.

[94] The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

[95] Sāyaṇa explains *saṁvargam* as = *saṁyag vṛishṭer varjayitāram* | "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *saṁvargam saṁ rayiṁ jaya* | and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the S'. P. Br. *e.g.* i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pitur dāyam upeyuḥ* . . . *kathaṁ nv imam api saṁvṛinjīmahi* (Schol. *apaharemahi*): Ibid. *samavṛinjata, saṁvṛinkte.* S'. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvaṁ yajnaṁ saṁvṛijya* (=*samāpti-pūrvaṁ saṁhṛitya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samvṛik samatsu* "the spoiler in battles."

[96] The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manīshiṇaḥ pra bharadhvam manīshām yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛiṇām | Indram satyair ā īrayāma kṛitebhiḥ sa hi vīro girvaṇasyur vidānaḥ | 2. Ṛitasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut sam gārshṭeyo vṛishabho gobhir ānaṭ | ud atishṭhat tavisheṇa raveṇa mahānti chid samvivyācha rajāmsi | 3. Indraḥ kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jishṇuḥ pathikṛit sūryāya | ād menām kṛiṇvann achyuto bhuvad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajāḥ apratītaḥ | 4. Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vratā amināad Angirobhir gṛiṇānaḥ | purūṇi chid ni tatāna rajāmsi dādhāra yo dharuṇam satyatātā | 5. Indro divaḥ pratimānam pṛithivyāḥ viśvā veda savanā hanti S'ushṇam | mahīm chid dyām ā atanot sūryeṇa chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān |*

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us move Indra, with his genuine acts, for he is a hero, and loves our hymns. 2. The hymn has shone forth from the place of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has embraced in himself the vast regions. 3. Indra by hearing is surely aware of this [hymn]. For he, the victorious, has formed a path for the sun, and then creating the female of the bull, became the unshaken, eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra by his power has defeated the designs of the great streaming [cloud-demon];[97] he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation in truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all libations, slays Sushṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support."[98]

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvam sindhūn avāsṛijaḥ adharācho ahann Ahim | aśatrur Indra jajnishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi |* "Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe: thou possessest all that is desirable," etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha*

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[97] That this is the allusion in the word *arṇava* is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi |* "Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda," etc.

[98] Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.

ushāḥ iva | *mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnāṁ samrājaṁ charshaṉīnām* | *devī janitrī ajījanad bhadrā janitrī ajījanat*[99] | "When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee."

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother. See the earlier part of the account of this deity in the fifth volume of this work.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā vāsayatha ushāsam ut sūryaṁ nayatho jyotishā saha* | *upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam pṛithivīm mātaraṁ vi* | "Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to shine, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support,[100] ye have spread out the earth, the mother."

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—*Indrā-Varuṉā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā ityādi* | "Indra and Varuṉa, since ye have made all these creatures of the world by your power," etc.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṉa:

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṁ hi rajā Varuṉaś chakāra sūryāya panthām anu-etavai u ityādi* | "King Varuṉa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow," etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvaṁ viśveshāṁ Varuṉa asi rājā ye cha devāḥ asura ye cha martāḥ* | "Thou, divine Varuṉa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men."—Quoted in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghṛitavatī bhuvanānām abhiśriyā ūrvī pṛithvī madhu-dughe supeśasā* | *dyāvā-pṛithivī Varuṉasya dharmaṉā vishkabhite ajare bhūri-retasā* | "Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are sustained asunder by the support of Varuṉa, undecaying, abundant in fertility."

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūṁshi vi yas tastambha rodasī chid urvī* | *pra nākam ṛishvaṁ nunude bṛihantaṁ dvitā nakshatram paprathach cha bhūma* | "Wise are his creations who by his power propped asunder the two worlds, thought vast. He raised up the lofty and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—This hymn is translated in Müller's Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

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[99] The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

[100] Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radat patho Varuṉaḥ sūryāya pra arṉāṁsi samudriyā nadīnām | sargo*[100*] *na sṛishṭo arvatīr ṛitāyan chakāra mahīr avanīr ahabhyaḥ* | 2. *Ātmā te vāto rajaḥ ā navīnot paśur na bhūrṉir yavase sasavān*[100†] | *antar mahī bṛihatī rodasī ime viśvā te dhâma Varuṉa priyāṉi* |

"Varuṉa has opened out paths for the sun, and the courses of the rivers leading to the ocean. Like a troop (of horses) let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind, thy breath, has sounded through the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast rushing along a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, O Varuṉa, are beloved."[101]

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśvavedāḥ amimīta varimāṉam pṛithivyāḥ | āsīdad viśvā bhuvanāni samrāḍ viśvā it tāni Varuṉasya vratāni* | 2. *Eva vandasva Varuṉaṁ bṛihantaṁ namasya dhīram amṛitasya gopām | sa naḥ śarma trivarūthaṁ viyaṁsad ityādi* |

"The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has measured[102] the expanse of the earth; he has occupied all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṉa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṉa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he extend to us triple protection," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Āditya, or Savitṛi):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya* | "Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring the days with thy rays; beholding created things, O Sūrya."

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addha deva mahān asi | Baṭ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābhyam* |

"Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: O god, thou art truly great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary."

[100*] The word *sarga* occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.

[100†] In regard to this participle, see the note (82) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.

[101] See note (81) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.

[102] See above, p. 71.

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat | aśvam iva adhukshad dhunim antariksham atūrte baddhaṁ Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhito viaunad apāṁ napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr ataḥ āḥ utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-pṛithivī aprathetām |*

"Savitṛi has established the earth by supports; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in unsupported space;[103] Savitṛi has milked the atmosphere, which resembles a sounding horse,—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitṛi, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended."

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[103] In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent S'esha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishṇu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall's ed. ii. 212): *Sa bibhrat śekharī-bhūtam aśeshaṁ kshiti-maṇḍalam | āste pātāla-mūla-sthaḥ S'esho 'śesha-surārchitaḥ |* "S'esha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth which forms a diadem on his head, and stands beneath the base of Pātāla." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-s'iromaṇi, iii. 2: *Bhūmeḥ piṇḍaḥ śaśānka-jna-kavi-ravi-kujejyārki-nakshatra-kakshā-vṛittair vṛitaḥ san mṛid-anila-salila-vyoma-tejomayo 'yam | nānyādhāraḥ sva-śaktyaiva viyati niyataṁ tisṭhati ityādi |* . . . 4. *Mūrto dhartā ched dharitryās tad-anyas tasyāpyanyo 'syaivam atrānavasthā | antye kalpyā chet sva-śaktiḥ kim ādye kiṁ no bhūmir ityādi |* which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: "2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the ether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas." . . . "4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, *i.e.* of S'iva?" Ārya Bhaṭṭa, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392), are these: *Bha-panjaraḥ sthiro bhūr evāvṛityāvṛitya prātidaivasikāv udayāstamayau sampādayati nakshatra-grahāṇām |* "The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets."

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *S'avitā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramayat | anārambhaṉe 'ntarikshe Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat | aśvam iva adhukshad dhunim antarikshe megham baddham atūrte baddham atūrṉe iti vā 'tvaramāṉe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakshyat | Ādityo 'pi Savitā vchyate.* "Savitṛi by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in the place which has no basis—the atmosphere. Savitṛi has milked the cloud fastened in the atmosphere,—the impassable, or the unhastening—(the cloud) sounding as a horse, and that which rises. What other god than the intermediate one (i.e. the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitṛi."

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: "Savitṛi has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to ***dhuni*** the sense of "sounding" (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: "According to Yāska the Savitṛi who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛishṭīnām asi mānushīṉām yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained freedom for the gods" (see R. V. vii. 98, 3, above p. 103).

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na kshāṁ dādhāra*[103*] *pṛithivīṁ tasthambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true texts," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tisro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpaḥ ityādi | 6. Sa retodhāḥ vṛishabhaḥ śaśvatīnāṁ tasminn ātmā jagataś tastushaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) "He

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[103*] Comp. R. V. viii. 42, 10:—*Yaḥ skambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat |*

in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all [the cows]: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world" (comp. *sūryaḥ ātmā jagatas tastushaś cha*, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.—. . . . *Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ* | "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma:

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum* | *jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat* | "The purified [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Tavemāḥ prajāḥ divyasya retasas tvaṁ viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasi* | *athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna te vaśe tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadhāḥ asi* | 29. *Tvaṁ samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pancha pradiśo vidharmaṉi* | *tvaṁ dyāṁ cha pṛithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe tava jyotīṁshi pavamāna sūryaḥ* | 30. *Tvam pavitre rajaso vidharmaṉi devebhyaḥ soma pavamāna pūyase* | *tvām Uśijaḥ prathamāḥ agṛibhṉata tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* |

"All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purified god, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. 29. Thou, sage, art an all-containing ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast ascended beyond the sky and the earth; thine, O purified god, are the luminaries and the sun. 30. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Vishṭambho divo dharuṉaḥ pṛithivyāḥ viśvāḥ uta kshitayo haste asya ityādi* | "He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand."

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 94), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Pavitrebhiḥ pavamāno nṛichakshāḥ rājā devānām uta martyānām ityādi* | "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods and of mortals," etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pavamāna mahi śravaś chitrebhir yāsi raśmibhiḥ*[104] | *śardhan tamāṁsi jighnase viśvāni dāśusho gṛihe* | 9. *Tvaṁ dyāṁ cha mahi-vrata pṛithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe ityādi* | "Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy brilliant rays; daring, thou willest to destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth," etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . *Tvaṁ kavir abhavo deva-vītamaḥ ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi* | "Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky."

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—*Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ pitā devānāṁ viśvā abhi dhāma* | "Be purified in all abodes, Soma, [who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods," etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishṇu is not the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 532 f.) shows that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme:

"When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. 'Among you, O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great indeed,'[105] is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,[106] the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;[107] nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book[108] is: *Viśvasmād Indra uttaraḥ* | 'Indra is greater than all.' Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.[109] He is called the king of the world,[110] he has the power to prolong the life of men,[111] and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu.[112] If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (οὐρανός), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,'" etc.

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[104] Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeshi cha pavamāna mahi śravaḥ* | and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo bṛihat* |

[105] R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.

SECT. III.—*Vishṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Vishṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.[113]

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[106] "*Tvam̃ viśvāni svanīka patyase* | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Pariśishṭa i.

[107] ii. 1, 9. [108] x. 86. [109] ix. 59.

[110] ix. 96, 10: *bhuvanasya rājā*. [111] ix. 96, 14. [112] ix. 96, 5.

[113] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*; Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Ādityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff.; and the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 54 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Āditeya* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—*Imāḥ giraḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi* | *śṛiṉotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuṉo Daksho Am̃śaḥ* | "With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṉa, Daksha, Anśa, hear us." Yāska makes *tuvijātaḥ* to be=*bahujātaś cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhāṭri, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāraḥ ṛitvijaḥ* | *devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhiḥ Somābhiraksha naḥ* | "The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven hotṛi priests, and the seven gods, the Ādityas,—with these, O Soma, protect us."

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 12 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārtāṉḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Sāyaṉa observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Taittirīye 'ashṭau putrāso Aditer' ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ* | *'Mitraścha Varuṉaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Am̃śuścha Bhagaścha Indraścha Vivasvām̃ś cha ete' iti* | "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittirīya, beginning with the words, 'The eight sons of Aditi,' as 'these, Mitra, Varuṉa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.'"

In a passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 14, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number, in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṉa mention is made of twelve Ādityas.

Vishṉu, as is remarked by Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, is mentioned along with the Ādityas [of the R. V., and other gods with whom they were afterwards associated] in A. V. xi. 6, 2: *Brūmo rājānam̃ Varuṉam Mitram̃ Vishṉum atho Bhagam* | *Am̃śam̃ Vivasvantam brūmas te no munchantu am̃hasaḥ* | 3 | *Brūmo devam̃ Savitāram Dhātāram uta Pūshaṉam* | *Tvashṭāram agriyam brūmaḥ* | "We invoke King Varuṉa, Mitra, Vishṉu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity. 3. We invoke the God Savitṛi, Dhātṛi, Pūshan, and Tvashṭṛi the chief," etc.

The following are two passages of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa in which mention is made of the Ādityas as being twelve in number.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasā eva vācham mithunam̃ samabhavat sa dvādaśa drapsān garbhy abhavat* | *te dvādaśa Ādityāḥ asṛijyanta tān dikshu upādadhāt* | "With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the quarters of the horizon."

S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityāḥ iti* | *dvādaśa māsāḥ sam̃vatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ—ete hi idam̃ sarvam ādadānāḥ yanti* | *te yad idam̃ sarvam ādadānāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāḥ iti* | "How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go on taking (*ādadānāḥ*) all this. Since they go on taking all this, they are called Ādityas."

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṉa, iii. 9, 21, 1, tells a story of the Ādityas: *Ādityāś cha Angirasaś cha suvarge loke 'spardhanta* | *te 'ngirasaḥ Ādityebhyo 'mum Ādityam̃ aśvam̃ śvetam bhūtam̃ dakshiṉām anayan* | *te 'bruvan "yam̃ no 'neshṭa sa varyo 'bhūd" iti* | *tasmād aśvam̃ savarya ity āhvayanti* | *tasmād yajne varo dīyate* | *yat Prajāpatir ālabdho 'śvo 'bhavat tasmād aśvo nāma* | *yat śvayad-arur āsīt tasmād arvā nāma* | *yat sadyo vājān samajayat tasmād vājī nāma* | *yad asurāṉām̃ lokān ādatta tasmād Ādityo nāma* | "The Ādityas and the Aṇgirases strove in heaven. The Angirases brought that Āditya, who had become a white horse, to the Ādityas as a present. The latter said, 'He whom you have brought to us has become excellent (*varya*).' Hence men call to a horse, *o savarya*. Hence a boon (*vara*) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (*aśva*, which means "pervading," according to the commentator), he has the name of *aśva*. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders *śvayad-aruḥ*, stating that Prajāpati suffered from a swollen eye), he is called *arvan*. Inasmuch as he conquered riches [or, in races] (*vāja*), he got the name *vājin*. Inasmuch as he took (*ādatta*) from the Asuras their worlds, he is called *Āditya*."

The Taitt. Āraṉyaka, i. 14, 1, also derives Āditya from the root ā+dā: *Yo 'sau tapann udeti sa sarveshām bhūtānām prāṉān ādāya udeti* | *mā me prajāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṉān adāya udagāḥ* | *asau yo* *'stam eti sa sarveshām bhūtānām prāṇān ādāya astam eti | mā me prajāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṇān ādāya astaṁ gāḥ* | "That [Sun] which rises glowing, rises taking the breath of all creatures. Do not rise [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself. That [Sun] which sets, sets taking the breath of all creatures. Do not set [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, gives various etymologies of the word Āditya: *Ādityaḥ | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotishaṁ | ādīpto bhāsā iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayogaṁ tu asya etad ārchābhyāmnāye | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam āditeyam" Aditeḥ putram | evam anyāsām api devatānām Ādityapravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryamṇo Dakshasya Bhagasya Aṁśasya iti |*

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids.[114] He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (*ādīptaḥ*) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Sūrya Āditeya*, Sūrya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.[115] In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daksha, Bhaga, Anśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Vishṇu is almost always named as one of them, and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

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[114] *Sahasra-guṇam utsrashṭum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ* | "For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvanśa, i. 18. In the hymn to the Sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is similarly said, v. 179: *Tvam ādāyāṁśubhis tejo nidāghe sarva-dehinām | sarvaushadhi-rasānāṁ cha punar varshāsu munchasi* | "Having in the hot season taken up by the rays the substance of all embodied beings, and the essence of all plants, thou again dischargest them in the rainy season." And Manu says: *Ashṭau māsān yathā "dityas toyaṁ harati raśmibhiḥ | tathā haret karaṁ rāshṭrād nityam arkavrataṁ hi tat* | "As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

[115] Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk* "has *not* a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: *sūkta-bhāg eva chaitad abhidhānaṁ na havirbhāk* | "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajajnire mahābhāgāḥ Daksha-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . . 2,522. Adityām̃ dvādaśādityāḥ sambhūtāḥ bhuvaneśvarāḥ | ye rājan nāmaṭas tām̃s te kīrtayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro'ryamā S'akro Varuṉas tv Am̃śaḥ eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūshā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvashṭā dvādaśo Vishṉur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveshām Ādityānām̃ guṉādhikaḥ |*

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Daksha . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Ādityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi;[116] Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, S'akra (Indra), Varuṉa, Anśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshan, and Savitṛi the tenth; the eleventh is Tvashṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Vishṉu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajnire nṛipa-śārdūla lokānām prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . .* 2,600. *Dvādaśaivāditeḥ putrāḥ S'akra-mukhyāḥ narādhipa | teshām avarajo Vishṉur yatra lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |*

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, O king, the deities (Suras) and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all beings sprang. . . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with S'akra. The youngest of them was Vishṉu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Am̃śo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṉaścha jaleśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaivendro dvādaśo Vishṉur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ Kāśyapeyāḥ iti śrutiḥ |*

"Anśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṉa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayaṅta, Bhāskara, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Vishṉu, who is called the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, *śruti*)."

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[116] In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, dividing himself twelvefold, became the twelve Ādityas (*kṛitvā dvādaśadhā 'tmānam̃ dvādaśādityatām̃ gataḥ*).

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Akshayaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ | tathaiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṉāv ṛishī | Ādityānām̃ hi sarveshām̃ Vishṉur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayyaś chāvyayaś chaiva śāśvataḥ prabhur īśvaraḥ | nimitta-maraṉāś chānye chandra-sūrya-mahījalam | Vāyur Agnis tathā ''kāśam̃ grahāṣ tārā-gaṉās tathā | te cha kshayānte jagato hitvā lokā-trayam̃ sadā | kshayam̃ gachhanti vai sarve sṛijyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | muhūrta-maraṉās tv anye mānushāḥ mṛigapakshiṉaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Ṛishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṉa. Vishṉu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—[117] the moon, the sun, the earth, water,[118] air, fire, the ether, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*muhūrta*)."

Vishṉu Purāṉa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (vol. ii. pp. 26 f. of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's translation)—*Pūrvamanvantare śreshṭhāḥ dvādaśāsan surottamāḥ | Tushitāḥ nāma te 'nyonyam ūchur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyaśasaś Chākshushasyāntare Manoḥ | samavāyīkṛitāḥ sarve samāgamya parasparam | Āgachhata drutam̃ devāḥ Aditim̃ sampraviśya vai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved iti | evam uktvā tu te sarve Chākshushasyāntare Manoḥ | Mārīchāt Kaśyapāj jātās te 'dityā Daksha-kanyayā | tatra Vishṉuścha S'akraścha jajnāte punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātācha Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaiva cha | Vivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṉaḥ eva cha | Am̃śo Bhagaś chātitejāḥ Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chākshushasyāntare pūrvam āsan ye Tushitāḥ smṛitāḥ | Vaivasvate 'ntare te vai Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |*

"In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and renowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chākshusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chākshusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daksha. In this way Vishṉu and S'akra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātṛi, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṉa, Anśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chākshusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara."

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[117] I suppose *nimitta-maranāḥ* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Vishṉu Purāṉa, Dr. Hall's ed. i. 113; v. 186, and note. Nārāyaṉa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralayādinimittam maraṉam̃ nāśo yeshām̃ te nimitta-maraṉāḥ* |

[118] Water and ether are said in the Rāmāyaṉa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 33. See also the order of creation described in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, and in Manu, in section ii., chapter i., above.

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivanśa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivanśa, verses 11,548 ff.: *Adityām̃ jajnire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Vishṉur Bhagas Tvashṭā Varuno 'm̃śo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūshā Mitraścha varado Manuḥ Parjanyaḥ eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ varishṭhās tridivaukasaḥ |* "From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Vishṉu, Bhaga, Tvashṭṛi, Varuṉa, Anśa, Aryaman, Ravi (the Sun), Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuṉo Mitraḥ Pūshā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvashṭā Bhago 'm̃śaḥ Savitā Parjanyaścheti visrutāḥ | Adityam̃ jajnire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanāḥ |* "The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṉa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātṛi, Purandara (Indra), Tvashṭṛi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only eleven names occur in this list: that of Vishṉu is omitted.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārtaṉḍa, the Sun.

Harivanśa, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāsitam̃ rūpam̃ tejasā sam̃hatena vai | kāntāt kāntataram̃ drashṭum adhikam̃ śuśubhe tadā | mukhe nirvartitam̃ rūpam̃ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsīt tu lohitam | mukha-rāgantu yat pūrvam Mārtaṉḍasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityāḥ dvādaśaiveha sam̃bhūtāḥ mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha*

Mitraścha Varuṉo 'm̃śo Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūshā cha Parjanyo daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishṉur ajaghanyo jaghanyajaḥ | harsham̃ lebhe tato devo dṛishṭvā "dityān sva-deha-jān | "Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārtaṉḍa were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṉa, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭṛi, then Vishṉu not the least, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Ādityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. Vivasvat is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from Vivasvat; and Tvashṭṛi was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the Harivanśa.) The Vishṉu Purāṉa tells the same story about Vivasvat, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, Dr. Hall's ed., iii. 20 f.)

Bhāgavata Purāṉa, vi. 6, 24 f.—*S'ṛiṉu nāmāni lokānām mātṛiṉām̃ śam̃karāṉi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnām̃ yat-prasūtam idam̃ jagat | Aditir Ditir ityādi |* . . . . 36 f. *Athātaḥ śrūyatām̃ vam̃śo yo 'diter anupūrvaśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṉo devo svām̃śenāvātarad vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūshā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṉo Mitraḥ S'akraḥ Urukramaḥ |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṉa, descended in a part of himself,—Vivasvat, Aryaman, Pūshan, Tvashṭṛi, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Dhātṛi, Vidhātṛi, Varuṉa, Mitra, S'akra, Urukrama (the wide-strider = Vishṉu)."

SECT. IV.—*Stories regarding Vishṉu from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, the Taittirīya Āraṉyaka, the Panchavim̃śa Brāhmaṉa, the Rāmāyaṉa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṉas.*

The following story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṉa (in which Vishṉu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of sacrifice, conquered the whole earth), with others of the same tenor, contains the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation:

Satapatha Brāhmaṉa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāścha vai Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire |tato devāḥ anuvyam iva āsuḥ | atha ha Asurāḥ menire 'asmākam eva idaṁ khalu bhuvanam' iti | 2. Te ha ūchur 'hanta imām pṛithivīṁ vibhajāmahai tāṁ vibhajya upajīvāma' iti | tām aukshṉaiś charmabhiḥ paśchāt prāncho vibhajamānāḥ abhīyuḥ | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śuśruvur "vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ pṛithivīm preta tad eshyīmo yatra imām Asurāḥ vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi" iti | te yajnam eva Vishṉum puraskṛitya īyuḥ | 4. Te ha ūchuḥ "anu no 'syām pṛithivyām ābhajata astv eva no 'py asyām bhāgaḥ" iti | te 'surāḥ asūyantaḥ iva ūchur 'yāvad eva esha Vishṉūr abhiśete tāvad vo dadmaḥ' iti | 5. Vāmano ha Vishṉur āsa | tad devāḥ na jihīḍire "mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajna-sammitam adur" iti | 6. Te prānchaṁ Vishṉuṁ nipādya chhandobhir abhitaḥ paryagṛighṉan "gāyatreṉa tvā chhandasā parigṛihṉāmi" iti dakshiṉatas | "traishṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigṛihṉāmi" iti paśchāt | "jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigṛihṉāmi" iti uttarataḥ | 7. Taṁ chhandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛihya agnim purastāt samādhāya tena archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | tena imāṁ sarvām pṛithivīṁ samavindanta | tad yad enena imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvatī vedis tāvatī pṛithivī' iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta | evaṁ ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ sapatnānām saṁvṛiṉkte nirbhajaty asyai sapatnān yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So 'yaṁ Vishṉur glānaś chhandobhir itaḥ parigṛihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṉam āsa | sa tataḥ eva oshadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ "kva nu Vishṉur abhūt kva nu yajno 'bhūd" iti | te ha ūchuś "chhandobhir itaḥ parigṛihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṉam asty atra eva anvichhata" iti taṁ khanantaḥ iva anvīshus taṁ tryangule 'nvavindaṁs tasmāt tryangulā vediḥ syāt | tad u ha api Pānchis tryangulām eva saumyasya adhvarasya vediṁ chakre | 10. Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |*

"The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, 'This world is now certainly ours.' 2. Then they spake, 'Come, let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.' They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, 'The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are dividing it. Who shall we become (*i.e.* what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said, 'Put us with yourselves in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishṇu can lie upon.'[119] 5. Now, Vishṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' 6. Then having placed Vishṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Trishṭubh metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagatī metre.' 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this means they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this means they acquired (*samavindanta*) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called *vedi* (from the root *vid*, 'to acquire'). Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, appropriates all this [earth] from rivals, dispossesses from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vishṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, Pānchi[120] made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next story from the same work relates how Vishṇu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

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[119] Compare with this story the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 84 f.) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 6, 15.

[120] *Pānchiḥ soma-yāgasyapi vedim̃ tryangula-khātām eva mene* | "Pānchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." (Commentary.) Pānchi is again mentioned in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mādhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhṛitayas trayo munayaḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Devāḥ ha vai satraṁ nishedur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Vishṇur viśve-devāḥ anyatra eva Aśvibhyām* | 2. *Teshāṁ Kurukshetraṁ devayajanam āsa* | *tasmād āhuḥ "Kurukshetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam" iti* | *tasmād yatra kva cha Kurukshetrasya nigachhati tad eva manyate "idaṁ devayajanam" iti tad hi devānāṁ devayajanam* | 3. *Te āsata* | *"śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma" iti tatho eva ime satram āsate "śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādaḥ syāma" iti* | 4. *Te ha ūchur "yo naḥ śrameṇa tapasā śraddhayā yajnena āhutibhir yajnasya udṛicham pūrvo 'vagachhāt sa naḥ śreshṭho 'sat tad u naḥ sarveshāṁ saha" iti "tathā" iti* | 5. *Tad Vishṇuḥ prathamaḥ prāpa* | *sa devānāṁ śreshṭho 'bhavat tasmād āhur "Vishṇur devānāṁ śreshṭhaḥ" iti* | 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Vishṇur yajnaḥ sa* | *sa yaḥ sa yajno 'sau sa Ādityaḥ* | *tad ha idaṁ yaśo Vishṇur na śaśāka saṁyantum* | *tad idam apy etarhi na eva sarvaḥ iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum* | 7. *Sa tisṛi-dhanvam*[121] *ādāya apachakrāma* | *sa dhanur-ārtnyā śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau* | *taṁ devāḥ anabhidhṛishṇuvantaḥ samantam pariṇyaviśanta* | 8. *Tāḥ ha vamryaḥ ūchuḥ* | *imāḥ vai vamryo yad upadīkāḥ* | *"yo 'sya jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta" iti "annādyam asmai prayachhema api dhanvann apo 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema" iti* | 9. *Tasya upaparāsṛitya jyām apijakshus tasyāṁ chhinnāyāṁ dhanur-ārtnyau vishphurantyau Vishṇoḥ śiraḥ prachichhidatuḥ* | 10. *Tad ghriṇṇ iti papāta* | *tat patitvā 'sāv Ādityo 'bhavat* | *atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva prāvṛijyata* | *tad yad ghriṇṇ ity apatat tasmād gharmaḥ* | *atha yat prāvṛijyata tasmād pravargyaḥ* | 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan* | *"mahān vata no vīro 'pādi" iti tasmād mahāvīraḥ* | *tasya yo raso vyaksharat tam pāṇibhiḥ sammamṛijus tasmāt samrāṭ* | 12. *Taṁ devāḥ abhyasṛijyanta*[122] *yathā vittiṁ vetsyamānāḥ evam* | *tam Indraḥ prathamaḥ prāpa* | *tam anvangam anunyapadyata* | *tam paryagṛihṇāt tam parigṛihya idaṁ yaśo 'bhavad yad idam Indro yaśaḥ* | *yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda* | 13. *Sa u eva makhaḥ sa Vishṇuḥ* | *tataḥ Indro makhavān abhavad* | *makhavān ha vai tam Maghavān ity āchakshate paroksham paroksha-kāmāh hi devāḥ* | 14.

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[121] This word occurs also in S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 5, 10; in Taitt. S. i. 8, 19, 1, and Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 2, in all which places it is explained by the Comm. *tisṛibhir ishubhir yuktaṁ* (or *sahitaṁ*) *dhanva* (or *dhanuḥ*).

[122] This, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of *abhimṛijyanta*, given in Weber's edition. See a parallel passage, S'atap. Br. iv. 1, 3, 5.

Tābhyo vamrībhyo 'nnādyam prāyachhan | *āpo vai sarvam annam̃ tābhir hi idam abhiknūyam iva adanti* | *yad idam kim̃vadanti* | 15. *Atha imam̃ Vishṇum̃ yajnam̃ tredhhā vyabhajanta* | . . . . *tena apaśirshṇā yajnena devā archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ* |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishṇu, Makha, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kurukshetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kurukshetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kurukshetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through toil, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us: this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishṇu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, 'Vishṇu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishṇu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishṇu could not control [his love of] this fame.[123] And the same is the case now, that every one cannot control [his love of] fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadīkās*—another name for ants), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was cut, the ends of the bow, starting asunder, cut off the head of Vishṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghṛiṇ*). That having fallen, became that Āditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghṛiṇ*, hence *gharma*, ['the sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prāvṛijyata*), the *pravargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān vīraḥ*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahāvīra* (a sacrificial vessel).[124] They wiped (*sammamṛijuḥ*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samrāṭ*. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishṇu), as men about to obtain property do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed Makha.[125] Hence Indra became Makhavat (the possessor or associate of Makha). He is Makhavat: they call him Maghavat esoterically; for the gods love what is esoteric. 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

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[123] It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśaḥ*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaḥ sa* Vishṇuḥ, etc., *sa yaḥ sa* yajnaḥ, etc. "He *who* [is] *this* Vishṇu," etc. "He *who* [is] *this* sacrifice," etc.

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,[126] and the second from the Panchavim̃śa Brāhmaṉa, which both relate the same story which has just been given from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa.

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[124] A long account is given of the *gharma*, *pravargya*, and *mahāvīra in* Katyāyāna's S'rauta Sūtras, xxvi.

[125] In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.* 2 *c*: "This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, R. V. x. 171, 2: *tvam Makhasya dodhaṭaḥ s'iro ava tvacho bharaḥ* | ('Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha'); ix. 101, 13, *apa s'vānam arādhasaṁ hata Makhaṁ va Bhṛigavaḥ* | ('Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhṛigus did Makha'). Herewith is to be connected the mention made of Makha's head in sacrificial formulæ, Vāj. Sanhitā, 37, 3: *devī dyāvā-pṛithivī Makhasya vām adya s'iro rādhyāsaṁ devayajane pṛithivyāḥ* | . . . . 4. *Devyo vamryo bhūtasya prathamajāḥ makhasya vo 'dya s'iro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛithivyāḥ* | ('O divine heaven and earth, may I rightly prepare for you to-day the head of Makha, on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed. . . . 4. O divine ants, firstborn of created things, may I rightly prepare for you the head of Makha on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed'); ibid. 11, 57; Taitt, S. i. 1, 8, 1; iii. 2, 4, 1, *namo 'gnaye Makhaghne* | *Makhasya mā yas'o 'ryād ity āhavanīyam upatishṭhate* | *yajno vai makhaḥ* ('Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the āhavanīya-fire. Makha is sacrifice')," etc.

[126] This part of the Taitt. Ār. has now been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 590 ff. The commentary on it will be found in pp. 371 ff.

Taittirīya Āraṉyaka, v. i. 1–7.—1. *Devāḥ vai satram āsata ṛiddhiparimitam̃ yaśaskāmāḥ | te 'bruvan "yan naḥ prathamam̃ yaśaḥ ṛichhāt sarveshām̃ nas tat saha asad" iti | teshām̃ kurukshetram̃ vedir āsīt | tasyai Khāṉḍavo dakshiṉārdhaḥ āsīt Tūrghnam uttarārdhaḥ Parīṉaj jaghanārdho Maravaḥ utkaraḥ |* 2. *Teshām Makham̃ Vaishṉavam̃ yaśaḥ ārchhat | tad nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tam̃ devāḥ anvāyan yaśo 'varurutsamānāḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata dakshiṉād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanvam puṉya-janma yajna-janma hi |* 3. *Tam ekam̃ santam bahavo na abhyadhṛiśhṉuvan | tasmād ekam ishudhanvam̃*[127] *vīram bahavo 'nishudhanvāḥ na abhidhṛishṉuvanti | so 'smayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhyadharshishur" iti | tasya sishmīyāṉasya tejo 'pākrāmat | tad devāḥ oshadhīshu nyamṛijuḥ | te śyāmākāḥ abhavan | smayākāḥ vai nāma ete |* 4. *Tat smayākānām̃ smayākatvam | tasmād dīkshitena apigṛihya smetavyam̃ tejaso dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tāḥ upadīkāḥ abruvan | "varam̃ vṛiṉāmahai | atha vaḥ imam̃ randhayāma | yatra kva cha khanāma tad apo 'bhitṛiṉadāma" iti | tasmād upadīkāḥ yatra kva cha khananti tad apo 'bhitṛindanti |* 5. *Vārevṛitam̃ hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravamāṉam̃ śiraḥ udavartayat | tad dyāvāpṛithivī anuprāvartata | yat prāvartata tat pravargyasya pravargyatvam | yad ghrām̐ ity apatat tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahato vīryam apaptad iti tad mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam |* 6. *Yad asyāḥ samabharam̃s tat samrājaḥ samrāṭtvam | tam̃ stṛitam̃ devatās tredhā vyagṛihṉata | Agniḥ prātaḥsavanam Indro mādhyandinam̃ savanam̃ Viśvedevās tṛitīya-savanam | tena apaśīrshṉā yajnena yajamānāḥ na āśisho 'vārundhata na suvargam̃ lokam abhyajayan | te devāḥ Aśvināv abruvan |* 7. *"Bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idam̃ yajnasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtām̃ "varam̃ vṛiṉāvahai grahaḥ eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agṛihṉan | tāv etad yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattām̃ yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśīrshṉā yajnena yajamānāḥ ava āśisho 'rundhata | abhi suvargam̃ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam praviṉakti yajnasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhāti | tena saśīrshṉā yajnena yajāmāno 'va āśisho rundhe 'bhi suvargam̃ lokām jayati | tasmād esha āśvina-pravayāḥ iva yat pravargyaḥ |*

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[127] The Bibl. Ind. reads *ishudhanvinam.*

"The gods, desirous of glory, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said, 'Whatever glory first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kurukshetra was their altar. Khāṇḍava was its southern, Tūrghna its northern, and Parīṇah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishṇava among their number. This glory he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] glory. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Strength departed from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They became śyāmāka grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with [his mouth] shut, that he may retain his strength. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'Let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subject him to you. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose. They knawed his (Vishṇu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prāvartata*), the pravargya derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrām̐*, gharma obtained its name. Strength (*vīrya*) fell from the mighty one (*mahataḥ*): hence the mahāvīra got its name. 6. As they gathered it (*samabharan*) from this [earth], a samrāṭ obtains his appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said, 'Let us ask a boon, let our graha (libation of Soma) be offered here also.' [The gods accordingly] recognized this Aśvina [libation] for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is the pravargya. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven.[123] When one offers the pravargya, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Aśvins."

Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6.—*Devaḥ vai yaśaskāmāḥ satram āsata Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruvan 'yan no yaśaḥ ṛichhāt tan naḥ saha asad' iti | teshām Makhaṁ yāśaḥ ārchhat | tad ādāya apākrāmat | tad asya pra saha āditsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭabhya atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārtnir ūrdhvā patitvā śiro 'chhinat sa pravargyo 'bhavat | yajno vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam pravṛinjanti yajnasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhati |*

"Desirous of glory, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha, were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'Whatever glory comes to us, that shall be common to us.' Glory came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They surrounded him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the pravargya. Makha is sacrifice. When men offer the pravargya, they replace the head of Makha."

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: *Agnir vai devānām avamo | Vishṇuḥ paramas | tadantareṇa sarvāḥ anyāḥ devatāḥ.* "Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu." Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: *Vishṇur vai devānāṁ dvārapaḥ | sa eva asmai etad dvāraṁ vivṛiṇoti.* "Vishṇu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door." The Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: *Vishṇur vai akāmayata puṇyaṁ ślokaṁ śṛiṇvīya na mā pāpī kīrttir āgachhet.* "Vishṇu desired, 'May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.'" The Taitt. S. iii. 4, 5, 1, says: *Rudraḥ paśūnāṁ Tvashṭā rūpāṇāṁ Vishṇuḥ parvatā-*

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[123] Compare the close of the story about the Aśvins quoted from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 250 ff.

nām Maruto gaṉānām adhipatayaḥ. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, Tvashṭṛi of forms, Vishṉu of mountains, the Maruts of hosts."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṉa gives the legend of the Dwarf incarnation in its later form:

"Rāmāyaṉa (Schlegel's ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishṉur deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaś-charaṉa-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapāḥ|* 3. *Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśramaḥ iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahātapāḥ |* 4 *Abhibhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Baliḥ | trailokya-rājyam bubhuje balotseka-madānvitaḥ |* 5. *Tato Balau tadā yajnaṁ yajamāne bhayārditāḥ | Indrādayaḥ suragaṉāḥ Vishṉum ūchur ihāśrame |* 6. "*Balir Vairochanir Vishṉo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām maharddhir asurādhipaḥ |* 7. *Ye chainam abhivartante yāchitāraḥ itastataḥ | yachcha yatra yathāvachcha sarvaṁ tebhyaḥ prayachchhati |* 8. *Sa tvaṁ sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritaḥ | vāmanatvaṁ gato Vishṉo kuru kalyāṉam uttamam" |* 9.[129] [*Etasminn antare Rāma Kaśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahito Rāma dīpyamānaḥ ivaujasā |* 10. *Devī-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vrataṁ samāpya vara-daṁ tushṭāva Madhusūdanam |* 11. "*Tapomayaṁ tapo-rāśiṁ tapo-mūrtiṁ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāṁ sutaptena paśyāmi purushottamam |* 12. *S'arīre tava paśyāmi jagat sarvam idam prabho | tvam anādir anirdeśyas tvām ahaṁ śaraṉaṁ gataḥ" |* 13. *Tam uvācha Hariḥ prītaḥ Kaśyapaṁ dhūta-kalmasham | varaṁ varaya bhadraṁ te varārho 'si mato mama |* 14. *Tach chhrutvā vachanaṁ tasya Mārīchaḥ Kaśyapo 'bravīt | "putratvaṁ gachchha bhagavann Adityāḥ mama chānagha |* 15. *Bhrātā bhava yavīyāṁs tvaṁ S'akrasyāsura-sūdana | śokārtānāṁ tu devānāṁ sāhāyyaṁ kartum arhasi" |* 16. *Atha Vishṉur mahātejāḥ Adityāṁ samajāyata | chhatrī bhikshuka-rūpeṉa kamaṉḍalu-śikhojjvalaḥ |*] 17. *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṉur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamya trīn yayāchātmanaḥ kramān |*

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[129] The following verses 9–16 seem to be rightly inclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as interpolated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. It will be seen, however, that in verse 19 of the text of the Bombay edition, as quoted further on, the words at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's edition: *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṉuḥ* ("Vishṉu being thus addressed by the deities"), are omitted, and the appearance of interpolation is avoided. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṉa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Vishṉu as one of the twelve Ādityas.—See above, pp. 118 ff.

18. *Labdhvā cha trīn kramān Vishṉuḥ kṛitvā rūpam athādbhutam* | *tribhiḥ kramais tadā lokān ājahāra tri-vikramaḥ* | 19. *Ekena hi padā kṛitsnām pṛithivīm̃ so 'dhyatishṭhata* | *dvitīyenāvyayam̃ vyoma dyām̃ tṛitīyena Rāghava* | 20. *Tam̃ chāsuram Balim̃ kṛitvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam* | *trailokya-rājyam Indrāya dadāv uddhṛitya kaṉṭakam* |

The readings of this passage, as given in the Bombay edition[130] i. 29, 2 ff., differ occasionally from those of Schlegel's. I subjoin them here: 2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishṉur deva-namaskṛitaḥ* | *varshāṉi subahūnīha tathā yuga-śatāni cha* | 3 | *tapaś-charana-yogārtham uvāsa sumahātapāḥ* | [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference of *hy atra* for *atra*,—with verse 3 of Schlegel's edition] 4b | *etasminn eva kāle tu rājā Vairochanir Baliḥ* | 5 | *nirjitya daivata-gaṉān sendrān saha-marud-gaṉan* | *kārayāmāsa tad-rājyam̃ trishu lokeshu viśrutaḥ* | 6 | *yajnam̃ chakāra*[131] *sumahān asurendro mahābalaḥ* | *Bales tu yajamānasya devāḥ sāgni-purogamāḥ* | *samāgamya svayam̃ chaiva Vishṉum ūchur ihāśrame* | 7 | "*Balir Vairochanir Vishṉo yajate yajnam uttamam* |

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[130] See Prof. Weber's account of this edition in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1863, vol. 17, pp. 771 ff.

[131] In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bali could sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them: *Naṉu "asurasya Baler deva-dvisho yāgādyanupapattir yāga-tarpaṉīya-devatābhāvād Indradīnām̃ tad-dveshyatvāt* | *nacha śabda-mātram̃ devatā iti yuktam artha-vāda-prāmāṉyena devatāyāḥ vigrahavattvasya uttara-mīmām̃sāyām̃ siddhāntitatvād" iti chet* | *na* | *karma-deva-ājāna-deva bhedena devānām̃ dvaividhyāt* | *tatra ye karmaṉā devatvam prāptās te karma-devāḥ* | *ājāna-devās tu yajna-mantrārtha-bhūtāḥ mantreṉa nitya-sambaddāḥ karma-devebhyaḥ prāchīnāḥ eva* | *tat-karma-devānām̃ dveshyatve 'py ājāna-devānām̃ yajne tarpyatve na doshaḥ* | *vighna-kartāro 'py atra karma-devāḥ eva* | *yajnādyadhikārābhāvo 'py ājāna-devānām eva sva-yashṭavya-devatāntarābhāvāt* | *karma-devānām̃ tv asty eva* | *ataḥ eva Indrādīnām̃ yajnādi-śravaṉam̃ na anupapannam* | "But is there not an absurdity in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by Bali, the enemy of the gods, from there being no deities who could be gratified by it, since Indra and the rest of them were the objects of his hostility? And it is not correct to say that a god is a mere name, for in the Uttara Mīmām̃sā the corporeality of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadas (illustrative passages of the Vedas). [See the passage of Sankara's Commentary on the Brahma or Vedānta Sūtras, i. 3, 28, quoted in the third vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff., especially p. 102 at the foot.] If this objection be urged, then I reply, that the case is not so; for the gods are of two kinds, work-gods, and those who are gods from their birth. (See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 17, f. note 26, and the S'atap. Br. xiv. 7, 1, 34 f.) Of these two kinds, the gods who have become such by works of merit are 'work-gods.' But it is those who are gods from their birth that are the objects of the sacrificial formulas, and eternally connected with those formulas; and they are more ancient than the 'work-gods.' Even if the 'work-gods' be objects of hostility, no exception can be taken to the supposition that the gods by birth may be gratified by sacrifice. And in

asamāpta-vrate tasmin svakāryam abhipadyatām | [verses 8–15*a* correspond with verses 7–14*a* of Schlegel's ed., substituting however *tapātmakam* for *tapo-dhanam*, and *purushopamam* for *purushottamam*] 15*b* | *Adityāḥ devatānām̃ cha mama chaivānuyāchitam* | 16 | *varam̃ varada suprīto dātum arhasi suvrata* | [verses 16*b* and 17 agree with 14*b* and 15 of Schlegel's edition] 18. *Ayam̃ Siddhāśramo nāma prasādāt te bhavishyati* | *siddhe karmaṇi deveśa uttishṭha bhagavann itaḥ* | 19. *Atha Vishṇur mahātejāḥ Adityām̃ samajāyata* | *Vāmanam̃ rūpam āsthāya Vairochanim upāgamat* | 20 | *trīn padān atha bhikshitvā pratigṛihya cha medinīm* | *ākramya lokān lokārthī sarva-loka-hite rataḥ* | 21 | *Mahendrāya punaḥ prādād niyamya Balim ojasā* | *trailokyam sa mahātejāś chakre S'akra-vaśam punaḥ* |

I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio's edition:

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), i. 32, 2 ff.—*Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ* | *siddhāśramaḥ iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahāyaśāḥ* | 3. *Vishṇur vāmana-rūpena tapyamāno mahat tapaḥ* | *trailokya-rājye 'pahṛite Balinendrasya Rāghava* | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition] 7. *Tam̃ tvam̃ vāmana-rūpeṇa gatvā bhikshitum arhasi* | *vikramām̃s trīn mahābāho dātā hi niyatam̃ sa te* | 8. *Bhikshito vikramān etām̃s trīn vīrya-bala-darpitaḥ* | *paribhūya jagannātham̃ tubhyam̃ vāmana-rūpiṇe* | 9. *Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipsamānāḥ svam īpsitam* | *tān kāmair īpsitaiḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvaraḥ* | 10. *Sa tvam̃ trailokya-rājyam̃ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate* | *dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūribhis tribhiḥ* | 11. *Ayam̃ siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhavishyati* | *tasmin karmaṇi sam̃siddhe tava satya-parākrama* | [Gorresio's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9–16 of his edition.] 12. *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṇur vāmanam̃ rūpam āsthitaḥ* | *Vairochanim upāgamya trīṇ ayāchata vikramān* | [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel's recension.]

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the case before us it is the 'work-gods' who are the disturbers of the sacrifice. Further, it is the gods by birth who are incapable of performing sacrifice, because there are no other deities to whom they could offer it. [See the first vol. of this work, p. 365, note 163] Whereas the 'work-gods' can perform sacrifice. Wherefore the tradition that Indra and the rest performed sacrifice is not absurd." It is strange for readers of the Vedic hymns to be told that Indra is not an object of worship by sacrifice.

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition:

Viśvāmitra speaks: "2. In this place, O large-armed Rāma, Vishṇu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of practising austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rāma, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Vishṇu in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, O Vishṇu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them in a proper manner all whatever, of any sort of thing, [they wish]. 8. Do thou, O Vishṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, O Rāma, the divine Kaśyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, (10) having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana: 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee, the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, who art rich in austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied: 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Sakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Vishṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on the crown of his head.] 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, O Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy."

I subjoin a translation of those parts of the Bombay text which are different from Schlegel's:

2. "In this place, O great-armed Rāma, Vishṇu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas, (3) for the purpose of practising austerity and contemplation. [Verses 3*b* and 4*a* are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.] 4*b*. But at this very period the renowned King Bali, son of Virochana, (5) having conquered the hosts of the deities, including Indra and the Maruts, ruled in their stead over the three worlds. 6. This very great and potent lord of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. While he was doing so, the gods, headed by Agni, assembled, and addressed Vishṇu in this hermitage. 7. 'Bali, the son of Virochana, O Vishṇu, is celebrating a grand sacrifice. Let his rite remain incomplete; and let our object be attained. [Verses 8–15*a* correspond very nearly with 7–14*a* of the other edition.] 15*b*–16*b*. O boon-bestowing, holy, deity, be well pleased, and bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit. [Verses 16*b* and 17 agree with 14*b* and 15 of the other ed.] 18*a*. This by thy favour shall be called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was accomplished). The work being accomplished, depart hence, O king of the gods.' 19. Then the glorious Vishṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana. 20. Then having begged for three paces of ground, and having occupied the earth, he, desiring the worlds, devoted to the good of all creatures, having stalked over the worlds, (21) restored them to Mahendra (great Indra), having overcome Bali by his might. This glorious being made the three worlds again subject to Sakra (Indra)." (See note [129] above.)

I add a translation of those parts of Gorresio's text which differ from Schlegel's:

"2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,'[131*] where the illustrious Vishṇu was perfected, (3) when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4–6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition.] 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, O large-armed. 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him for their accomplishment. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was fulfilled),[131*] shall be [a place] where this work is fulfilled, when this work has been accomplished by thee, O possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition, except, as above stated, in the omission of verses 9–16 there given.)

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata:

Mahābhārata, S'āntiparva, vv. 12943 ff. — *Virochanasya balavān Baliḥ putro mahāsuraḥ | abadhyaḥ sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-rakshasām | bhavishyati sa S'akrancha sva-rājyād chārayishyati* (*=chyāvayishyati?*) | *trailokye 'prahṛite tena vimukhe cha S'achīpatau | Adityaṁ dvādaśādityaḥ sambhavishyāmi Kaśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi S'akrāyāmita-tejase | devatāḥ sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balinchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavancha Balim śreshṭham abadhyam sarva-daivataiḥ* |

After referring to his Boar, and Man-lion incarnations, Vishṇu says to Nārada: "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rākshasas. He shall oust S'akra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born in the form of the twelve Ādityas, the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I will then restore his empire to Śakra of boundless energy; will reinstate the gods in their several positions; will place Bali in Pātāla, the eminent Dānava Bali, indestructible by all the gods."

[131*] The participle *siddha* means both "perfect" and "accomplished."

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—[132]*Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | tvaṁ Vishṉur iti vikhyātaḥ Indrād avarajo vibhuḥ | śiśur bhūtvā divaṁ khancha pṛithivīncha parantapa | tribhir vikramaṉaiḥ Kṛishṉa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadane sthitaḥ | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhāskaraṁ svena tejasā | prādurbhāva-sahasreshu teshu teshu tvayā vibho | adharma-ruchayaḥ Kṛishṉa nihatāḥ śataśo' surāḥ* | "And thou, Kṛishṉa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishṉu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the ether, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, O soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own lustre. In these thousands of thy manifestations, O all-pervading Kṛishṉa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity."

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Vishṉu Purāṉa:

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson's translation; vol. iii., p. 18, of Dr. Hall's ed.).—*Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanaḥ Kaśyapād Vishṉur Adityāṁ śambabhūva ha | Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān jitvā yena mahātmanā | Pūrandarāya trailokyaṁ dattaṁ nihata-kaṉṭakam* | "So when the Vaivasvata manvantara had arrived, Vishṉu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), his enemy being destroyed."

The story of Vishnu's incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṉa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus:

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[132] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note (pp. 587, and 921 of the second edition).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchata | bhūtveśvaraḥ kṛipaṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam |* 2. *Etad veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalam̃ hi naḥ | yajneśvarasya pūrṇasya bandhanam̃ chāpy anāgasaḥ |*

The king asks: "Why did Hari, the lord of creatures, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why, when he had obtained his object, did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?" The sage Suka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmans of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Viśvajit sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11), attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra inquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śatror unnater asya kāraṇam | śishyāyopabhṛitam̃ tejo Bhṛigubhir brahmavādibhiḥ |* 29. *Bhavad-vidho bhavān vā'pi varjayitveśvaram̃ Harim | nāsya śaktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛitāntasya yathā janāḥ |* 30. *Tasmād nilayam* (=*adarśanam*,[133] Comm.) *utsṛijya yūyam̃ sarve trivishṭapam | yāta kālam pratīkshanto yataḥ śatror viparyayaḥ |* 31. *Esha viprabalodarkaḥ sampraty ūrjita-vikramaḥ | teshām evāvamānena sānubandho vinankshyati |*

"I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bhṛigus, the declarers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, not even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, disappear, expecting [the operation of] time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependents."

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[133] The word *nilaya*, however, may also mean "abode," in which case the sense will be "abandoning heaven, your abode, depart," etc.

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 145.)

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhṛigus celebrated for him a hundred aśvamedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Evam abhyarthito 'dityā Kas tām āha smayann iva | aho māyā-balam̃ Vishṉoḥ sneha-baddham idam̃ jagat* | 19. *Kva deho bhautiko 'nātmā kva chātmā prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kasya ke pati-putrādyāḥ mohaḥ eva hi kāraṉam* | 20. *Upatishṭhasva Purusham bhagavantam̃ Janārdanam | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsam̃ Vāsudevam̃ jagad-gurum* | 21. *Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnānukampanaḥ | amoghā bhagavad-bhaktir netareti matir mama* |

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka[134] (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Vishṉu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (*i.e.* how great is the superiority of soul to the body!)[135] Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person?[136] (*i.e.* there are no such things

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[134] For an explanation of this word see above, p. 15, note 43. Here it stands for Kaśyapa.

[135] Compare for this idiom the Raghuvam̃śa, i. 2: *Kva sūrya-prabhavo vam̃śaḥ kva chālpa-vishayā matiḥ* | "Where is the race descended from the Sun, and where is my mind of which the (proper) objects are so small?" *i.e.* the disproportion between the two things is great.

[136] This sentiment appears to be here intended as orthodox: but similar observations, when made in the Rāmāyaṉa (Schlegel's and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 f., are spoken of as *dharmāpeta*, which the scholiast in the Bombay edition interprets as = *dharma-mārga-viddham̃ lokāyatika-matāvalambanam*, *i.e.*, "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyatikas." The words there are: *kaḥ kasya purusho bandhuḥ kim āpyam̃ kasya kenachit | eko hi jāyate jantur ekaḥ eva vinaśyati* | 4 | *tasmād mātā pitā cheti Rāma sajjeta yo naraḥ | unmattaḥ iva sa jneyo nāsti kaśchid hi kasyachit* | 3. "What person is the relation of any (other)? what affinity has any one with another? For a creature is born alone, and perishes alone. 4. Whosoever,

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my judgment."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishṇu in such a way as to obtain her desire, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (*payo-vrata*) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—*Tvayārchitaś chāham apatya-guptaye payo-vratenānuguṇam samīḍitaḥ | svāṁśena putratvam upetya te sutān goptāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhishṭhitaḥ* | 19. *Upadhāva patim bhadre prajāpatim akalmasham | māṁ cha bhāvayatī patyāv evaṁrūpam avasthitam* | 20. *Naitat parasmai ākhyeyam pṛishṭayā 'pi kathanchana | sarvaṁ sampadyate devi deva-guhyaṁ susaṁvṛitam* | 21. *S'ukaḥ uvācha | etāvad uktvā bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | Aditir durlabhaṁ labdhvā Harer janmātmani prabhoḥ | upādhāvat patim bhaktyā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat* | 22. *Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani Harer aṁśaṁ hy avitathekshaṇaḥ* | 23. *So 'dityāṁ vīryam ādhatta tapasā chira-sambhṛitam | samāhita-manāḥ rājan dāruṇy agniṁ yathā 'ṇilaḥ* |

"'Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in

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therefore, is attached to any person, (thinking 'this is my) father or mother,' is mad. No one is anything to any other." The word *āpyam* in verse 3, which I have rendered by "affinity," according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as =*prāpyam*, "to be obtained." The clause, according to him, would thus mean: "What is to be obtained by any one person from any other?" The word may here, however, perhaps have the Vedic sense, although it is unusual, if not elsewhere unknown, in modern Sanskrit. Gorresio's edition, ii. 116, 12, has *kāryam* instead of *āpyam*, thus making the meaning to be, "What has any one person to do with any other?"

this form abide within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, O goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain intuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

We have already seen that Vishṇu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 118 ff.). The connexion with the old legend is therefore preserved here, as well as in the story given in the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, above, pp. 132 and 134.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūshaṇāyudhair avyakta-chid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmano baṭuḥ sampaśyator divya-gatir yathā naṭaḥ |* "With that body which Hari, the invisible spirit, had assumed, and which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons,—with that same body, he, whose ways are supernatural, became, while [his parents] were looking on, a dwarfish Brahmanical student, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the aśvamedha sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.[137] Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.)—*Tat-pāda-śaucham jana-kalmashāpaham sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Giriśaś chandra-maulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayā cha bhaktyā |* 29. *Balir uvācha | svāgatam te namas tubhyam brahman kim karavāma te | brahmarshīṇām tapaḥ sākshād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam |* . . . . 32. *Yad yad baṭo vānchhasi tat pratīchha me tvām arthinam vipra-sutānutarkaye | gām*

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[137] It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

kānchanam̃ guṉavad dhāma mṛishṭam̃ tathā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-kanyām | grāmān samṛiddhām̃s turagān gajān vā rathām̃s tathā 'rhattama sampratīchha | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (S'iva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . . . 32. Ask of me, student, whatever thou desirest; son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant; ask, most venerable youth, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.'"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily, with a hypocritical pretence of moderation not very creditable to a god, ends with the seemingly modest demand of three paces of ground:

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tvatto mahīm īshad vṛiṉe 'ham̃ varadarshabhāt | padāni trīṉi daityendra sammitānī padā mama* | 17. *Nānyat te kāmaye rājan vadānyāj jagadīśvarāt | nainaḥ prāpnoti vai vidvān yāvad-artha-pratigrahaḥ* | 18. *Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṉa-dāyāda vāchas te vṛiddha-sammatāḥ | tvam bālo bāliśa-matiḥ svārtham praty abudho yathā* | 19. *Mām̃ vachobhiḥ samārādhya lokānām ekam īśvaram | pada-trayam̃ vriṉīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāśusham* | 20. *Na pumān mām upravrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛitti-karīm bhūmim̃ baṭo kāmam pratīchha me* | 21. *S'rī-bhagavān uvācha | yāvanto vishayāḥ preshṭhās trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te sarve pratipūrayitum̃ nṛipa* | 22. *Tribhiḥ kramair asantushṭo dvīpenāpi na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadvīpa-varechhayā* | . . . . 27. *Tasmāt trīṉi padāny eva vriṉe tvad varadarshabhāt | etāvataiva siddho 'ham vittam̃ yāvat prayojanam* | 28. *S'ukaḥ uvācha | ity uktaḥ sa hasann āha vānchhitam pratigṛihyatām | vāmanāya mahīm̃ dātum̃ jagrāha jala-bhājanam* |

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs.

18. Bali answered: 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words reverenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests: wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied: 'All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, O king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine divisions (*varshas*), since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.[138] . . . . 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' 28. Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water."

Uśanas,[139] however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṉu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited:

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Vishṉave kshmām pradāsyantam Uśanā asureśvaram | jñanaś chikīrshitam̐ Vishṉoḥ śishyam prāha vidām̐ varaḥ | 30. S'ukrāchāryaḥ uvācha | Esha Vairochane sākshād bhagavān Vishṉur avyayaḥ | Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānām̐ kārya-sādhakaḥ |* 31. *Pratiśrutam̐ tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānām mahān upagato 'nayaḥ |* 32. *Esha te sthānam aiśvaryam̐ śriyam̐ tejo yaśaḥ śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya S'akrāya māyā-māṉavako Hariḥ |* 33. *Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān viśva-kāyaḥ kramishyati | sarvasvam̐ Vishṉave dattvā mūḍha vartishyase katham |* 34. *Kramato gām padaikena dvitīyena divam̐ vibhoḥ | kham̐ cha kāyena mahatā tārtīyasya kuto gatiḥ |* 35. *Nishṭhām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo 'nīśaḥ pratipādayitum bhavān |* 36. *Na tad dānam praśam̐santi yena vṛittir vipadyate | dānam̐ yajnas tapaḥ karma lòke vṛittimato yataḥ |* 37. *Dharmāya yaśase 'rthāya kāmāya svajanāya cha | panchadhā vibhajan vittam ihāmutra cha modate |* 38. *Atrāpi bahvṛichair gitam̐ śṛiṉu me*

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[138] See the first volume of this work, pp. 489 ff. for an account of these continents and varshas.

[139] See the second volume of this work, p. 386, note 65.

'sura-sattama | satyam om iti yat proktaṁ yan nety āhānṛitaṁ hi tat | 39. *Satyam pushpa-phalaṁ vidyād ātma-vṛikshasya jīvataḥ | vṛikshe 'jīvati tan na syād anṛitam mūlam ātmanaḥ |* 40. *Tad yathā vṛikshaḥ unmūlaḥ śushyaty udvartate 'chirāt | evaṁ nashṭānṛitaḥ sadyaḥ ātmā śushyed na saṁśayaḥ |* 41. *Parāg riktam apūrṇaṁ vai aksharaṁ yat tad "om" iti | yat kinchid "om" iti brūyāt tena richyeta vai pumān |* 42. *Bhikshave sarvam om kurvan nālaṁ kāmena chātmane | athaitat pūrṇam abhyātmaṁ yach cha nety anṛitaṁ vachaḥ |* 43. *Sarvaṁ nety anṛitam brūyāt sa dushkīrtiḥ śvasan mṛitaḥ | strīshu narma-vivāhe cha vṛitty-arthe prāṇa-sankaṭe | go-brāhmaṇārthe hiṁsāyāṁ nānṛitaṁ syāj jugupsitam |*

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the earth to that deity: 30. 'This, O son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Vishṇu himself, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, [to be] the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf, having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Sakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [occupied] the heaven with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to bestow it) of what thou hast engaged to give. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined: for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means. 37. The man who divides his property into five parts destined severally for purposes of religion, renown, personal interest, pleasure and family support, is happy in this world as well as in the next.[140] 38. Hear from me, most excellent of the

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[140] The drift of verses 38 ff., which are founded upon a passage of the Veda quoted by the commentator, is thus explained by him: *Nanu tarhi pratiśrutya "na" iti*

Asuras, what has been sung on this subject by teachers of the Rigveda: to say "yes" is to be true; to say "no" is to be false. 39. Know that truth is celebrated as the flower and fruit of that tree, one's self, while it is alive; but this cannot be the case unless the tree lives; [therefore, when it tends to our preservation], falsehood is the root of one's self. 40.

katham anṛitam̃ vāchyam | tatra āha sārdhhaiḥ shaḍbhiḥ | atrāpi satyānṛita-vyavasthāyām bahvṛicha-śrutyā hi prathamam "'om' iti satyam̃ 'na' iti anṛitam" ity ādinā satyānṛitayor lakshaṇa-pūrvakam̃ stuti-nindābhyām̃ satyam̃ vihitam anṛitam̃ cha nishiddham anantaram̃ cha "parāg vai etad riktam aksharam" ityādinā satye doshān anṛite cha guṇān uktvā "tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyānṛite mithunīkaroti" ity upasam̃hāreṇa vṛitti-sankaṭādishv anṛitam apy anujnātam tam imam̃ śruty-artham̃ darśayann āha | "But the objection arises, how, after promising, can a man say 'no,' and thus be guilty of falsehood? To this he replies in six and a half verses. Here, with a view to fixing the rules regarding truth and falsehood, after having first of all stated the characteristic marks of each, according to these words of the Rigvedic doctors, '"yes" is truth, and "no" is falsehood,' etc., and having by praise and blame shown that truth is enjoined and falsehood forbidden, he cites the clause, 'this word denotes removal and evacuation,' etc., to indicate the faults of truth and the virtues of falsehood; and lastly, after quoting the words, 'he combines truth and falsehood by saying "let a man give and withhold on the proper occasions,"' he sums up by deciding that falsehood is permitted when necessary for the sake of subsistence, and in straits, etc. Propounding this doctrine of scripture, he says, etc."

The words of the passage here referred to, from a Bahvṛicha-S'ruti (Rigveda Brāhmaṇa or Upanishad, which is unknown to me), as quoted by the commentator in his notes on verses 40, 41, and 42 of this passage, are as follows: *"Om" iti satyam̃ "na" ity anṛitam | tad etat pushpam phalam vācho yat satyam | sa ha īśvaro yaśasvī kalyāṇa-kīrtir bhavitā | pushpam̃ hi phalam̃ vāchaḥ satyam̃ vadati | atha etad mūlam̃ vācho yad anṛitam | tad yathā vṛikshaḥ āvirmūlaḥ śushyati sa udvartate evam eva anṛitam̃ vadann āvirmūlam ātmānam̃ karoti sa śushyati sa udvartate | tasmād anṛitam̃ na vaded dayeta tv enena* | [*anena tv anṛitena "dayeta" sankaṭeshv ātmānam̃ rakshed iti śruty-arthaḥ* | Comm.] *parāg vai etad riktam aksharam yad etad "om" iti | tad yat kincha "om" ity āha atra eva asmai tad richyate | sa yat sarvam "om̃" kuryād richyād ātmānam̃ sa kāmebhyo nālam̃ syāt | Atha etat pūrṇam abhyātmam̃ yad "na" iti | sa yat sarvam̃ "na" iti brūyāt pāpikā 'sya kīrtir jāyeta | sā enam tatra eva hanyāt | Tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyānṛite mithunīkaroti* |

"'Yes' (*om*) is true, 'no' is false. Truth is the flower, and the fruit, of speech. He shall be lord, famous, of excellent renown: for he utters truth, the flower, and the fruit, of speech. Again, falsehood is the root of speech. Just as a tree, the root of which is exposed, dries up, and falls, so a man, uttering a falsehood, exposes his own roots, dries up, and falls. Wherefore let no man utter falsehood, but let him protect himself by it." [Such is the sense assigned to *dayeta tv enena* by the commentator, who adds "in straits."] "This word, 'yes,' denotes removal and emptiness. Therefore by every 'yes' which is uttered, emptiness is occasioned. The man who says always 'yes' will empty himself, and not have sufficient for his wishes. Again, the word 'no' denotes fulness in one's own interest. He who says always 'no' will acquire an evil reputation, which will straightway destroy him. Wherefore he combines truth and falsehood by [the rule] let a man give and withhold at the proper times."

Wherefore, as a tree, when uprooted, dries up and falls, so too we ourselves, if we abandon falsehood, shall undoubtedly become dried up. 41. The word "yes" denotes removal, evacuation, and emptiness; whenever, then, any person says "yes," he will be emptied out. 42. By continually saying "yes" to an applicant, a man does not retain enough to satisfy his own desires; whilst a false "no" [preserves our] full [property] for ourselves. 43. The man whose every "no" is false, is infamous, and dead even while he breathes. But falsehood is not blamable when addressed to women, or in jest, or in reference to a marriage, or for subsistence, or when life is in danger, or on behalf of cows and Brāhmans, or when one is exposed to violence.'"

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience:

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Evam aśraddhitaṁ śishyam anādeśa-karaṁ guruḥ* | *śaśāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasvinam* | 15. "*Dṛiḍham paṇḍita-māny ajnaḥ stabdho'sy asmad-upekshayā* | *mach-chhāsanātigo yas tvam achirād bhraśyase śriyaḥ*" | 16. *Evaṁ śaptaḥ sva-guruṇā satyād na chalito mahān* | *vāmanāya dadāv enām architvodaka-pūrvakam* | 17. *Vindhyāvalis tadā "gatya patnī jālaka-mālinī*[141] | *āninye kalaśaṁ haimam avanejany-apām*[142] *bhṛitam* | 18. *Yajamānaḥ svayaṁ tasya śrīmat-pāda-yugaṁ mudā* | *avanijyāvahad mūrdhni tad-apo viśva-pāvanīḥ* |

14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], who would not depart from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Next the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed."

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand:

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[141] *Jālakam muktābharaṇa-viśeshaḥ* | Comm.

[142] *Avanejanīnām apām* | Comm.

(Sect. 20, v. 21.)—*Tad vāmanaṁ rūpam avardhatādbhutaṁ Harer anantasya guṇa-trayātmakam* | *bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayas tiryaṇ-nṛi-devāḥ ṛishayo yad āsata* | "That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which were comprehended the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods and ṛishis."

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced on the Asuras, and other beings, is given in verses 22–32; and at length the strides of the deity are thus described:

(Sect. 20, v. 33.)—*Kshitim padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhaḥ śarīreṇa diśaścha bāhubhiḥ* | *padaṁ dvitīyaṁ kramatas trivishṭapaṁ na vai tritīyāya tadīyam aṇv api* | *urukramasyāṅghrir upary upary atho mahar-janābhyāṁ tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ* | "He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas."[143]

The gods assemble (sect. 21) to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the king of the bears:

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—*Jāmbavān ṛiksha-rājas tu bheri-śabdair mano-javaḥ* | *vijayaṁ dikshu sarvāsu mahotsavam aghoshayat* | 9. *Mahīṁ sarvāṁ hṛitāṁ dṛishṭvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchnayā* | *ūchuḥ sva-bhartur asurāḥ dīkshitasyātyamarshitāḥ* | 10. *Na vai ayam brahma-bandhur Vishṇur māyāvināṁ varaḥ* | *dvija-rūpa-pratichhanno deva-kāryaṁ chikīrshati* | 11. *Anena yāchamānena śatruṇā baṭu-rūpiṇā* | *sarvasvaṁ no hṛitam bhartur nyastadaṇḍasya varhishi* | 12. *Satya-vratasya satataṁ dīkshitasya viśeshataḥ* | *nānṛitam bhāshituṁ śakyam brahmaṇyasya dayāvataḥ* | 13. *Tasmād asya badhe dharmo bhartuḥ śuśrūshaṇe cha naḥ* | *ity āyudhāni jagṛihur Baler anucharāsuraḥ* | 14. *Te sarve vāmanaṁ hantuṁ śūla-paṭṭiśa-pāṇayaḥ* | *anichhato Baleḥ rājan prādravan jātamanyavaḥ* |

8. "Jāmbavat, king of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this

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[143] See Wilson's Vishṇu Puraṇa (p. 48, note, and p. 213 = pp. 98, vol. i., and 226, vol. ii., of Dr. Hall's ed.) for an account of these Lokas.

victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. 9. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras, greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. 11. By this enemy, in the form of a suppliant student, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is pious and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him (the dwarf), and obey our master:'—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf."[144]

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Vishṇu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuṇa, and reproached by Vishṇu for failing to fulfil his promise:

(Sect. 21, v. 26.)—*Atha Tārkshy-suto jnātvā Virāṭ prabhu-chikīrshitam | babandha Vāruṇaiḥ pāśair Balim̃ sautye'haṅi kratau* | 27. *Hāhākāro mahān āsīd rodasyoḥ sarvato-diśam | gṛihyamāṇe 'sura-patau Vishṇunā prabhavishṇunā* | 28. *Tam baddham̃ Vāruṇaiḥ pāśair bhagavān āha vāmanaḥ | nashṭa-śriyam sthira-prajnam udāra-yaśasam̃ nṛipa* | 29. *Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyam̃ tvayā 'sura | dvābhyām̃ krāntā mahī sarvā tṛitīyam̃ upakalpaya* | 30. *Yāvat tapaty asau gobhir yāvad Induḥ sahoḍubhiḥ | Yāvad varshati Parjanyas tāvatī bhūr iyam̃ tava* | 31. *Padaikena mayā krānto bhūrlokaḥ kham̃ diśas tanoḥ | svarlokas tu dvitīyena paśyatas te svam ātmanā* | 32. *Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vāsaḥ ishyate | viśa tvam̃ nirayam̃ tasmād guruṇā chānumoditaḥ* | 33. *Vṛithā manorathas tasya dūra-svargaḥ* (*duresvargaḥ*, Bombay ed.) *pataty adhaḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rthitam*[145] | 34. *Vipra-*

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[144] It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

[145] The reading given of this line is that of Burnouf's edition. The Bombay edition has instead of it: *pratiśrutasyādānena yo 'rthinam̃ vipralambhate* | "who deceives a suppliant by not giving him what had been promised."

labdho dadāmīti tvayā 'haṁ chāḍhya-māninā | tad-vyalīka-phalam bhunkshva nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ | 26. "Then Virāṭ (Garuḍa), the son of Tārkshya, knowing the purpose of the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa[146] at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 27. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Vishṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire world has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This world of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who, after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst "I give." Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.'"

Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-śloka bhavān mameritaṁ vacho vyalīkaṁ sura-varya manyate | karomy ṛitaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ tṛitīyaṁ kuru śīrshṇi me nijam* | 3. *Bibhemi nāhaṁ nirayāt pada-chyuto na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | naivārtha-kṛichhrād bhavato vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhṛiśam udvije yathā* |

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, thou considerest the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I now make it good,—and here there can be no deception,—place thy third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor mis-

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[146] See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be *bhūri-pāśāv anṛitasya setū* | "barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses."—See Roth's article on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 57, 65.

fortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor thy restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority, and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali nexts worships Vishṉu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Vishṉu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Esha dānava-daityānām agraṉīḥ kīrti-vardhanaḥ* | *ajaishīd ajayām māyām̃ sīdann api na muhyati* | 29. *Kshīṉa-rikthaś chyutaḥ sthānāt kshipto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ* | *jnātibhiścha parityakto yātanām anuyāpitaḥ* | 30. *Guruṉā bhartsitaḥ śapto jahau satyam̃ na suvrataḥ* | *chhalair ukto mayā dharmo* [quere *dharmam̃?*] *nāyam tyajati satyavāk* | 31. *Esha me prāpitaḥ sthānam̃ dushprāpam amarair api* | *Sāvarṉer antarasyāyam bhavitendro mad-āśrayaḥ* | 32. *Tāvat sutalam adhyāstām̃ Viśvakarma-vinirmitam* | *yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha klamas tandrā parābhavaḥ* | *nopasargāḥ nivasatām̃ sambhavanti mamechhayā* |

28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it.[147] 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvarṉi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: *Aho praṉāmāya kṛitaḥ samudyamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ* | *yal lokapālais tvadanugraho 'marair alabdha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ* | 3. *Śukaḥ uvācha* | *ity uktvā Harim ānamya Brahmāṉam̃ sa-Bhavam̃ tataḥ* | *viveśa Sutalam prīto Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraiḥ* | 2. "'O, even the effort made to adore thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (S'iva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras." Vishṇu now addresses Uśanas, the priest of Bali:

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[147] If we should read *dharmam* instead of *dharmaḥ*, the sense would be: "Though deceitfully addressed by me, he does not abandon duty."

(Sect. 23, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasaṁ rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike* | *āsīnam ṛitvijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām* | 14. *Brahman santanu śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ vitanvataḥ* | *yat tat karmasu vaishamyam brahma-drishṭaṁ samam bhavet* | 15. *S'ukraḥ uvācha* | *Kutas tat-karma-vaishamyaṁ yasya karmeśvaro bhavān* | *yajneśo yajnapurushaḥ sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ* | 16. *Mantratas tantrataś chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-vastutaḥ* | *sarvaṁ karoti niśchhidram anusankīrtanaṁ tava* | 17. *Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishyāmy anuśāsanam* | *etach chhreyaḥ param puṁsāṁ yat tavājnānupālanam* | 18. *S'ukaḥ uvācha* | *abhinandya Harer ājnām Uśanā bhagavān iti* | *yajna-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarshibhiḥ saha* | 19. *Evam Baler mahīm rājan bhikshitvā vāmano Hariḥ* | *dadau bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivaṁ yat parair hṛitam* | 13. "Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of expounders of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. 'Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.' 15. S'ukra (Uśanas) replied: 'How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which thou art the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial Man, adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being, I shall fulfil the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.' 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas, with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali's sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra[145] the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies."

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[145] Vishṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 133, line 6 from the bottom.

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, represents Vishṇu, of whom the dwarf was an incarnation, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things: (Sect. 23, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitṛi-bhūmipaiḥ*| *Daksha-Bhṛigv-Angiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha* | 21. *Kaśyapasyāditeḥ prītyai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya chā* | *lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vāmanam patim* | 22. *Vedānām̃ sarva-devānām̃ dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ* | *mangalānām̃ vratānāncha kalpam̃ svargāpavargayoḥ* | 23. *Upendram̃ kalpayānchakre patim̃ sarva-vibhūtaye* | *tadā sarvāṇi bhutāni bhṛiśam mumudire nṛipa* | 20. "Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, ṛishis, pitṛis, with Daksha, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the Dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly."

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 72) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the story of the Dwarf incarnation.

This incarnation is also briefly related in the Agni Purāṇa, iv. 5*b*–11, and is either referred to, or narrated more or less diffusely, in the Harivaṁśa, verses 2725; 4159; 4166; 12195–12204; and 12900–14390. In the last-mentioned verses the story is told at length, with the various conflicts between the gods and Asuras by which it had been preceded. The incarnation itself and its results are related in vv. 14039–14390. Sections 231–233 of the Matsya Purāṇa are devoted to the same subject.[149] I give an abstract of the 47th section, in which Vishṇu's incarnations are enumerated.[150] It is here stated that it was in consequence of a curse pronounced by Bhṛigu (as we shall see further on) that Vishṇu assumed most of these forms (v. 37). There were twelve conflicts between the gods and Asuras (vv. 39–52). It is related (vv. 58 ff.) that on one occasion when Prahrāda had been overcome, and Indra had gained the empire of the three worlds, S'ukra, the priest of the Asuras, left them and went to the gods.[150*] They, however, entreated him not to desert them, when he reassured them by the promise of his support (vv. 60 ff.). They were nevertheless attacked by the gods, and again resorted to S'ukra; when their assailants left them. S'ukra then referred to their former discomfitures, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahādeva and obtain certain sacred texts which would insure their victory (vv. 65 ff.). They then promised to the gods to desist from hostilities and betake themselves to austerities (vv. 73 ff.). S'ukra accordingly went to Mahādeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Bṛihaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (*kaṇa-dhūma*)[151] with his head downward for a thousand years. This he agreed to do (vv. 78 ff.). Hearing of this, and taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Asuras, the gods went to attack them. The Asuras remonstrated, and in the absence of S'ukra, resorted to his mother for help, and were reassured by her (vv. 83 ff.). The gods, however, followed, and assailed them, when the goddess (S'ukra's mother—her name is not given), by her magical power, rendered Indra helpless, and then the other gods took to flight (vv. 91 ff.). Vishṇu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Vishṇu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Vishṇu to slay her before she could carry her threat into effect. Vishṇu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (vv. 95 ff.). Vishṇu was hereupon doomed by a curse of S'ukra to be born seven times in the world of men; and in consequence of this he appears for the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails:[152] (vv. 102 *tam̃ dṛishṭvā stri-badham̃ ghoram̃ chukrodha Bhṛigur īśvaraḥ | tato 'bhiśapto Bhṛiguṉā Vishṉur bhāryā-badhe tadā* | 103 | *yasmāt te jānato dharmam abadhyā strī nishūditā | tasmāt tvam̃ saptakṛitveha mānusheshūpapatsyasi* | 104 | *tatas tenābhiśāpena nashṭe dharme punaḥ punaḥ | lokasya cha hitārthāya jāyate mānusheshv iha*). Śukra then sprinkled his mother with water, and restored her to life, an act and result which were applauded by all creatures (vv. 105 ff.). Indra now, with the intention of counteracting Śukra's austerities, sent his daughter Jayantī to the saint to wait upon and soothe him by her assiduous and affectionate attentions and services, till the conclusion of his painful performances (vv. 111 ff.). She found him in the act of being thrown down into the pit of fire by the Yaksha who had prepared it, and drinking in the smoke of the chaff, with his head downward, and though enfeebled, yet tranquilly meditating on the form of Mahādeva (vv. 116 ff. *tam̃ dṛishṭvā tu pibantam̃ sā kaṉadhūmam avāṉmukham | yaksheṉa pātyamānam̃ cha kuṉḍa-dhāreṉa pātitam | dṛishṭvā cha tam pātyamānam̃ devī Kāvyam avasthitam | svarūpa-dhyāna-śāmyantam̃ durbalam bhūtim āsthitam*); lauded him with endearing language, and rubbed his limbs with her gentle touch (v. 118). At the conclusion of his austere rite, continued for a thousand years, Mahādeva applauded him as the only person who had ever performed it; and granted him a variety of boons, including superiority to the gods. Śukra lauded the god in a hymn of 41 stanzas, consisting of an enumeration of his attributes (vv. 119 ff.). Mahādeva, gratified, touched the saint with his hand, granted him a vision of his form, and then disappeared (v. 167). Śukra then noticed Jayantī standing beside him, expressed himself gratified by her devoted attentions, asked her what she wished, and promised to bestow it. She replied that he, in virtue of his transcendent knowledge, should know what she wished. Her desire was, he said, to live in his company for ten years. This he granted, and took her home and married her. They lived together, rendered invisible to all eyes by his magical power, for ten years (vv. 168 ff.). The Asuras, however, learning the success of their preceptor's austerities, came to his abode, but failed to see him. Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, knowing that S'ukra would be occupied with Jayantī for ten years, at the instigation of Indra, took advantage of this circumstance to assume his form, and summoning the Asuras, passed himself off to them as their spiritual guide, and offered to act as their teacher, an offer which they gladly accepted (vv. 177 ff.). As the fruit of S'ukra's ten years' cohabitation with Jayantī, a daughter, Devayānī, was born. S'ukra then resolved to visit his pupils, and informed Jayantī of this intention, the fulfilment of which she admitted to be a duty, and said she would not stand in the way of its performance. He accordingly went and found that the Asuras had been deluded by Bṛihaspati, who had assumed his (S'ukra's) form. He told them that he was S'ukra; and when they were bewildered by the sight of the two sages identical in appearance, he repeated that he was their genuine preceptor, and that the other was Bṛihaspati, and demanded that they should forsake the latter, and follow him. They, however, were unable to distinguish between the two; and Bṛihaspati asseverated that he was the genuine S'ukra, and that the other was Bṛihaspati. The Asuras, considering that the person who had taught them for ten years was their real preceptor, made obeisance to him, and angrily rejected the claim of S'ukra to be their Guru. They were in consequence doomed by the curse of the incensed sage (S'ukra) to lose their senses and incur defeat (vv. 183 ff.). Satisfied with this result, Bṛihaspati reassumed his own proper form, and disappeared. Seeing that they had been deluded, the Asuras, headed by Prahrāda, followed S'ukra, and appeared before him with downcast looks. Though at first angry, he was at length pacified by their entreaties, reassured them by saying that they would regain their senses and gain one victory over the gods, though after that they should have to descend to the infernal regions, the period of their dominion declared by Brahmā having then expired. In the Sāvarṇi Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahrāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahrāda, which Brahmā had forbidden S'ukra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendancy, the Asuras desired to anticipate the time of its realization, and challenged the gods to battle. A combat ensued, which lasted for a thousand years, at the end of which the Asuras were victorious. The gods then took counsel together, and invited S'aṇḍa and Marka[153] (who are mentioned in verse 39, and appear to be the pupils of Bṛihaspati alluded to in v. 221) to abandon the Asuras, and aid them (the gods) in their sacrifice. If they succeeded in obtaining this aid, they were confident they should overcome the Asuras. S'aṇḍa and Marka accepted the invitation, and the gods conquered the Asuras; who, being forsaken by these two priests, and undergoing the consequences of S'ukra's curse, were expelled by their adversaries from the upper world, and entered the infernal regions [226. *Yajnenopāhvayāmas tau tato jeshyāmahe 'surān* | *tadopāmantrayan devāḥ S'aṇḍāmarkau tu tāv ubhau* | 227. *yajne chāhuya tau proktau "tyajetām asurān dvijau* | *vayam̃ yuvām bhajishyāmaḥ saha jitvā tu dānavān"* | 228. *evam̃ kṛitābhisandhī tau S'aṇḍāmarkau surās tathā* | *tato devāḥ jayam prāpur dānavāś cha parājitāḥ* | 229. *S'aṇḍāmarka-parityaktāḥ dānavāḥ hy abalās tathā* | *evam daityāḥ purā Kāvya-śāpenābhihatās tadā* | 230. *Kāvya-śāpābhibhūtās te nirādhārāś cha sarvaśaḥ* | *nirasyamānāḥ devaiś cha viviśus te rasātatam* |] (vv. 223 ff.). In consequence of S'ukra's curse, which operated periodically, Vishṇu was born time after time, (see above, p. 152), after a decline of righteousness, which he re-established, destroying the Asuras. For Brahmā had decreed that all those Asuras who should be disobedient to Prahrāda[154] should be slain by men (231. *tataḥ-prabhṛiti śāpena Bhṛigor naimittikena tu* | 232. *jajne punaḥ punar Vishṇur dharme praśithile prabhuḥ* | *kurvan dharma-vyavasthānam asurāṇām praṇāśanam* | 233. *Prahrādasya nideśe tu na sthāsyanty asurāś cha ye* | *manushya-badhyās te sarve Brahmeti vyāharat prabhuḥ* | Vishṇu's incarnations are then enumerated (verses

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[149] See Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 42*b*. The Matsya Purāṇa has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahratti explanation; but the portion containing the sections in question has not yet reached me.

[150] In verse 9 it is said that Kas'yapa was a portion of Brahmā, and Aditi of the Earth (*Brahmaṇaḥ Kas'yapas tv aṁśaḥ Pṛithivyās tv Aditis tathā*).

[150*] Compare Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 20: *Us'anā vai Kāvyo 'surāṇām purohitaḥ āsīt | taṁ devāḥ kāmadughābhir* (*kāma-dugdhābhir gobhiḥ* | Comm.) *upāmantràyanta | tasmai etāny auśanāni prāyachhan | kāmadughāḥ vai auśanāni* | "Us'anas Kāvya was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milch cows. They gave him these Aus'ana texts. Auśana texts are milch cows."

[151] I have to thank Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kās'ī Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Pur. 16, 2, viz. *Kaṇāḥ khaṇḍitās taṇḍulatushās tajjanyaṁ dhūmam* |

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[152] I have not elsewhere met with an explanation of Vishṉu's incarnations so dishonourable to the god. Yet even here he is said to be born for the good of mankind when righteousness has declined, with a view to its restoration—a singular result of a curse! Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā given above, p. 53, and vv. 7 and 8 of the 4th sect. of the same work: *Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati Bhārata | abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā 'tmānam̃ sṛijāmy aham | paritrāṉāya sādhūnām̃ vināśāya cha dushkṛitām | dharma-samsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge* | "Whenever righteousness declines, and unrighteousness arises, then I create myself. For the deliverance of the good and the destruction of the wicked, I am born in every Yuga." See also the 32nd verse of the hymn to Vishṉu in the 10th Canto of the Raghuvam̃śa: *Anavāptam avaptavyam̃ na te kinchana vidyate | lokānugrahaḥ evaiko hetus te janma-karmaṉoḥ* | "Thou hast nothing unobtained to obtain. Kindness to men is the only cause of thy birth and of thy action."

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[153] See the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note.

[154] Regarding Prahrāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii., pp. 30–68.

234–245) viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Narasinha, or Man-lion, and (3) the Dwarf, incarnations, which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being the human incarnations caused by S'ukra's curse (v. 238. *Etās tisraḥ smṛitās tasya divyāḥ sambhūtayo dvijāḥ* | *mānushāḥ sapta yānyās* (sic.) *tu śāpajās tāḥ nibodhata*). These seven are (4) the Dattātreya, (5) Māndhātṛi, (6) Paraśurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha, (10) Kalki, incarnations. (Eight instead of seven are obtained if, with the Mahratti expounder, we understand the beginning of verse 243 to refer to Kṛishṉa.) The Bhāgavata Purāṉa gives twenty-two incarnations (i. 3, 1 ff.) viz.: Those in the forms of (1) Purusha, (2) Varāha or the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṉa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattātreya, (7) Yajna or Sacrifice, (8) Ṛishabha, (9) Pṛithu, (10) Matsya or the Fish, (11) Kūrma or the Tortoise, (12 and 13), Dhanvantari, (14) Narasinha or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana or the Dwarf, (16) Paraśurāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and Kṛishṉa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalki. These last two are represented as future. But the incarnations of Vishṉu are innumerable, like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Rishis, Manus, gods, sons of Manus, Prajāpatis are all portions of him (verse 26. *Avatārāḥ hy asankheyāḥ Hareḥ sattva-nidher dvijāḥ* | *yathā 'vidāsinaḥ kulyāḥ sarasaḥ syuḥ sahasraśaḥ* | 27. *ṛishayo manavo devāḥ manu-putrāḥ mahaujasaḥ* | *kalāḥ sarve Harer eva saprajāpatayas tathā*).

SECT. V.—*Vishṉu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṉa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṉas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishṉu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṉas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 64 that neither Yāska himself, nor S'ākapūṉi and Aurṉavābha, the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishṉu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 66, in appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods of primary consequence, and that of these Vishṇu is not one. As the passage from which this latter extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length:

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad ye 'nādishṭa-devatāḥ mantrās teshu devatopaparīkshā | yad-devataḥ sa yajno vā yajnāngam̃ vā tad-devatāḥ bhavanti | atha anyatra yajnāt prājāpatyāḥ iti yājnikāḥ | nārāśam̃sāḥ iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sā kāma-devatā syāt prāyo-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulam̃ loke deva-devatyam atithi-devatyam pitṛi-devatyam | yājna-daivato mantraḥ iti | api hy adevatāḥ devatā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāny athāpy ashṭau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantūn iva arthān devatānām pratyaksha-dṛiśyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhir ṛishayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sārvanāmnyāch cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ karma-janmānaḥ ātma-janmānaḥ | atmā eva eshām̃ ratho bhavaty ātmā 'śvāḥ ātmā ''yudham ātmā ishavaḥ ātmā sarvam̃ devasya |* 5. *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | yatho etat-"karma-pṛithaktvād" iti bahavo 'pi vibhajya karmāṉi kuryuḥ | tatra sam̃sthānaikatvam̃ sambhogaikatvam̃ cha upekshitavyam | yathā pṛithivyām manushyāḥ paśavo devāḥ iti sthānaikatvam | sambhogaikatvam̃ cha dṛiśyate yathā pṛithivyāḥ Parjanyena cha Vāyv-Ādityābhyām̃ cha sambhogo 'gninā cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etad nara-rāshṭram iva |* 6. *Atha ākāra-chintanam̃ devatānām | purusha-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | athāpi paurusha-vidhikair angaiḥ sam̃stūyante | "ṛishvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū"* (R. V. vi. 47, 8); *"yat sangṛibhṉāḥ maghavan kāśir it te"* (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | *athāpi paurusha-vidhikair dravya-sam̃yogaiḥ | "ā drābhyām̃ haribhyām Indra yāhi"* (R. V. ii. 18, 4); *"kalyāṉīr jāyā suraṉam̃ gṛihe te"* (R. V. iii. 53, 6) *athāpi paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ | "addhi Indra piba cha prasthitasya"* (R. V. x. 116, 2); *"āśrutkarṉa śrudhi havam"* (R. V. i. 10, 9) | 7. *Apurusha-vidhāḥ syur ity aparam | api tu yad dṛiśyate 'purusha-vidham̃ tat | yathā 'gnir vāyur ādityaḥ pṛithivī chandramāḥ iti | yatho etat "chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny*

apy evam̃ stūyante yathā 'ksha-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-paryanṭāni | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair angaiḥ sam̃stūyante" ity achetaneshv apy etad bhavati | "abhi krandanti haritebhir āsabhir" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair dravya-sam̃yogair" ity etad api tādṛiśam eva | "sukham̃ ratham̃ yuyuje sindhur aśvinam" iti nadī-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhir" ity etad api tādṛiśam eva | "hotuś chit pūrve havir adyam āśata" iti grāva-stutir eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ | api vā purusha-vidhānām eva satām̃ karmātmānaḥ ete syuḥ | yathā yajno yajamānasya | esha cha ākhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ ity uktam purastāt | tāsām bhakti-sāhacharyam̃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha etāny Agni-bhaktīny ayam̃ lokaḥ prātaḥ-savanam̃ vasanto gāyaṭrī trivṛit-stomo rathantaram̃ sāma ye cha deva-gaṉāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne 'gnāyī pṛithivī ilā iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanam̃ cha havishām āvahanam̃ cha devatānām̃ yach cha kinchid dārshṭi-vishayikam Agni-karma eva tat | atha asya sam̃stavikāḥ devāḥ Indraḥ Somo Varuṉaḥ Parjanyaḥ ṛitavaḥ | Āgnā-Vaishṉavam̃ havir na tu ṛik sam̃stavikī daśatayīshu vidyate | atha apy Āgnā-Paushṉam̃ havir na tu sam̃stavaḥ | tatra etām̃ vibhakti-stutim ṛicham udāharanti* (R. V. x. 17, 3) 9. "*Pūshā tvā itaś chyavayatu pra vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ | sa tvā etebhyaḥ paridadat pitṛibhyo Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ*" | "*Pūshā tvā itaḥ prachyāvayatu vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ*" *ity esha hi sarveshām bhūtānām gopāyitā Ādityaḥ |* "*sa tvā etebhyaḥ pari dadat pitṛibhyaḥ*" *iti sām̃śāyikas tritīyaḥ pādaḥ | Pūshā purastāt tasya anvādeśaḥ ity ekam Agnir uparishṭāt tasya prakīrtanā ity aparam |* "*Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ*" *| suvidatram̃ dhanam bhavati vindater vā ekopasargād dadāter vā syād dvyupasargāt |* 10. *Atha etāni Indra-bhaktīny antariksha-loko mādhyandinam̃ savanam̃ grīshmas trishṭup panchadaśa-stomo bṛihat-sāma ye cha deva-gaṉāḥ samāmnātāḥ madhyame sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasānupradānam̃ Vṛitra-vadho yā cha kā cha bala-kṛitir Indra-karma eva tat | atha asya sam̃stavikāḥ devāḥ Agniḥ Somo Varuṉaḥ Pūshā Bṛihaspatir Brahmaṉaspatiḥ Parvataḥ Kutso Vishṉur Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro Varuṉena sam̃stūyate | Pūshṉā Rudreṉa cha Somaḥ | Agninā cha Pūshā | Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ |* 11. *Atha etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas tṛitīya-savanam̃ varshāḥ jagatī saptadaśa-stomo vairūpam̃ sāma ye cha deva-gaṉāḥ samāmnātāḥ uttame sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasādānam̃ raśmibhiś cha rasādhāraṉam̃ yach cha kinchit pravalhitam*

Āditya-karma eva tat | Chandramasā Vāyunā Saṁvatsareṉa iti saṁstavaḥ | eteshv eva sthāna-vyūheshv ṛitu-chhandaḥ-stoma-pṛishṭhasya bhakti-śesham anukalpayīta | śarad-anushṭub-ekaviṁśa-stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti pṛithivy-āyatanāni | hemantaḥ panktis triṉava-stomaḥ śākvaram sāma ity antarikshāyatanāni | śiśiro 'tichhandās trayas-triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti dyu-bhaktīni |

4. "We shall now inquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] is offered. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (yājnikāḥ), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men.[155] Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities:[156] for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to what has been said that hymns are sacrificial, and addressed to a god, [it is to be remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1–28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.). But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the multiplicities of natures in the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p. 13); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

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[155] Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśaṁsa* is thus defined: *Yena narāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁso mantraḥ* | "A hymn in which men are eulogized is a *nārāśaṁsa* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yāska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

[156] This is the sense assigned to *prāyo-devatā* by Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 102, see note 1 there: but may not the word mean a being who has something of the character of a god?

5. "There are three deities according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra,[157] whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgātṛi, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons).

6. "We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. Thus R. V. vi. 47, 8: 'Huge, O Indra, are the arms of thee who art strong'; iii. 30, 5, 'when thou didst grasp the two worlds, they were but as a handful to thee.' They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of material objects such as those belonging to men. Thus it is said, R. V. ii. 18, 4, 'Come, Indra, with thy two tawny steeds'; iii. 53, 6, 'A handsome wife and pleasure are in thy house.' And further, they are celebrated with functions of a similar character to the human. Thus R. V. x. 116, 2, 'Eat, O Indra, and drink from the bowl;' R. V. i. 10, 9, 'Thou whose ears hear us, listen to our invocation.'

7. "Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are

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[157] Compare Taitt. Sanh., vi. 6, 8, 3: *Indra-Vāyū hi sayujau* | "For Indra and Vāyū are closely united.

praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.). Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'They cry with their ruddy mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of material objects such as those possessed by men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'The Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'Even before the priests they have eaten food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.[158]

8. "It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their provinces. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's domain: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatrī metre, the trivṛit stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṇṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnāyī, Pṛithivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no Ṛich which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in

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[158] The commentator Durga (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104) refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brạhman to ask aid from Vāsudeva and Arjuna respecting the Khāṇḍava wood, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question. See Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 101; and the Vanaparvan, verses 8079 ff.

common, but no conjoint laudation. Here the following verse containing separate praise [of these two gods] is quoted, viz. R. V. x. 17, 3: 9. 'May Pūshan, the wise, the preserver of the world, he who loses none of his cattle, convey thee away hence: may he deliver thee to these fathers; and may Agni [entrust thee] to the gracious gods.' The words, 'May Pūshan, the wise, etc.,' refer to the Sun, who is the protector of all creatures. The sense of the third quarter of the verse beginning, 'May he deliver thee, etc.,' is dubious: on the one hand it may be a repetition of the reference to Pūshan, who had been named before;[159] or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. *Suvidatra* (from which *suvidatriyebhyaḥ* in the fourth clause, "May Agni," etc., comes) means 'wealth,' and is either derived from *vid*, 'to find,' with one preposition (*su*), or from *dā*, 'to give,' with two prepositions (*su* and *vi*).

10. "The following are the objects connected with Indra's domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishṭubh metre, the panchadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛitra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛihaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. "The following are the objects connected with Āditya's (the Sun's) domain: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the jagatī metre, the saptadaśa stoma, the vairūpa sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (Vāyu), and the Year.

"[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and pṛishṭhas (particular sāma formulas) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, the anushṭubh metre, the ekavinśa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the ati-chhandas metre, the trayastrinśa stoma, and the raivata sāma, are connected with the celestial sphere."[160]

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[159] I have translated the clause as referring to Pūshan.

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishṇu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped along with Soma. If we may judge from his silence regarding it, the conjunction of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (trimūrti) would appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the trimūrti of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, be objected to this view, that if Yāska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we may perhaps conclude, either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Bṛihaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Bṛihaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta* [*sya bha*] *vyasya jangama-sthāvar-asya cha* | *asyaike sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayam̃ viduḥ* | *asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajāpatiḥ* | *yad aksharām̃ cha vāchyam̃* (?) *cha yathaiva Brahma śāśvatam* | *kṛitvaisha hi tridhā* "*tmānam eshu lokeshu tishṭhati* | Ibid. i. 14 . . . *tisraḥ eveha devatāḥ* | *etāsām eva māhātmyād nāmānyatvam̃ vidhīyate* | *tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatreha dṛiśyate* | i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe], present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of non-entity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

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[160] The above passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 101 ff.

From the passage cited above (p. 30 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishṇu is only once mentioned[161] by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121: *Manasīndum diśaḥ śrotre krānte Vishṇum bale Haram | vāchy Agnim Mitram utsarge prajane cha Prajāpatim |* "[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping Vishṇu, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati." Vishṇu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 33) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 118 ff.) where Vishṇu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Rāmāyaṇa also, where Vishṇu is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, and other portions of the Rāmāyaṇa itself (unless we suppose these to be later interpolations), or identified with the supreme deity, as in these first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's edition;=i. 15, 1 ff., Bombay edition, and i. 14, 1 ff. of Gorresio's edition):

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[161] Lassen, Ind. Ant., 1st ed., i. 777, note; or 2nd ed., p. 918.

Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff.—*Medhāvī tu tato dhyātvā sa kinchid idam uttaram | labdha-sanjnas*[162] *tatas tam̃ tu veda-jno nṛipam abravīt* | 2 | *ishṭim̃ te 'nyām̃*[163] *karishyāmi putrīyām putra-kāraṇāt* | *atharvaśirasi proktair mantraiḥ siddhām̃ vidhānataḥ* | 3 | [164]*tataḥ prachakrame kartum ishṭim̃ kāma-samṛiddhaye* | *tasya rājno hitānveshī Vibhāṇḍaka-suto vaśī* | 4 | *tatra devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāścha munibhiḥ saha* | *bhāga-pratigrahārtham̃ vai pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ* | 5 | *Brahmā sureśvaraḥ Sthāṇus tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ* | *Indraś cha bhagavān sākshād Marud-gaṇa-vṛitas tathā* | 6 | *aśvamedhe mahāyajne rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ* | *tatra bhāgārthino devān āgatān so 'bhyayāchata* | 7 | *ayam̃ rājā Daśarathaḥ putrārthī taptavāṁs tapaḥ* | *ishṭavān aśvamedhena bharataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitaḥ* | 8 | *ishṭim̃ cha putra-kāmo 'nyām punaḥ kartum̃ samudyataḥ* | *tad asya putra-kāmasya prasādam̃ kartum arhatha* | 9 | *abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān asyārthe 'ham̃ kṛitānjaliḥ* | *bhaveyur asya chatvāraḥ putrās trailokya-viśrutāḥ* | 10 | *te tathety abruvan devāḥ ṛishi-putram̃ kṛitānjalim* | *mānanīyo 'si no vipra rājā chaiva viśeshataḥ* | 11 | *prāpsyate paramam̃ kāmam etayeshṭyā narādhipaḥ* | *ity uktvā*

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[162] *Labdha-sanjnaḥ samādhy-utthitaḥ* | Comm. in Bombay ed.

[163] Bombay ed. reads *te 'ham* for *te 'nyām*.

[164] The Bomb. ed. here reads: 3. *Tataḥ prākramad ishṭim̃ tām putrīyām putra-kāraṇāt* | *juhāv agnau cha tejasvī mantra-dṛishṭena karmaṇā* | 4 | *tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha paramarshayaḥ* | *bhāva-* [qu. *bhāga*] *pratigrahārtham̃ vai samavetāḥ yathāvidhi* | 5 | *tāḥ sametya yathānyāyam̃ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ* | *abruvan loka-kartāram Brahmāṇam̃ vachanam̃ tataḥ* | 6 | *Bhagavam̃s tvat-prasādena Rāvaṇo nāma rākshasaḥ* | *sarvān no bādhate vīryāt śāsitum̃ tam̃ na śaknumaḥ* | "He then began that sacrifice for the sake of obtaining a son; and the glorious (rishi) cast an oblation into the fire, accompanied by the prescribed recitation of texts. 4. Then the gods, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and great Rishis were gathered together in due form to receive their portion. 5. Having duly assembled in that abode, the deities spake thus to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 6. 'Lord, owing to thy favour a Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa distresses us all by his power, and we cannot subdue him.'" What follows corresponds in the main with the readings of Schlegel's text.

This text, it will be noticed, differs in several points from Schlegel's [and from Gorresio's] in (*a*) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the aśvamedha; (*b*) in not naming Brahmā, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), and Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) as being of the number; or (*c*) as having been supplicated by the rishi on behalf of king Daśaratha; and (*d*) in proceeding at once to represent the gods as invoking Brahmā's aid, as the other two texts do further on. The Bombay text may be the most original, and the verses there omitted may be later additions, as they do not fit in very well into the sequel. Compare note 166 below. This, however, would not prove that the whole section was not a prior interpolation. See further on.

'ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ S'akra-purogamāḥ | 12 | *tāḥ sametya yathānyāyam̃ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ* | *abruvan loka-kartāram Brahmāṉam̃ vachanam̃ tataḥ* | 13 | *tvat-pradishṭa-varo Brahman Rāvaṉo nāma rākshasaḥ* | *sarvān no bādhate darpād maharshīm̃ś cha tapo-ratān* | 14 | *tvayā hy asya varo dattaḥ prītena bhagavan purā* | *deva-dānava-yakshāṉām abadhyo 'sīti kāmataḥ* | 15 | *mānayantaścha te vākyam̃ sarvam asya sahāmahe* | *sa bādhayati lokām̃ś trīn vihim̃san rākshaseśvaraḥ* | . . . . 19. *Tad mahad no bhayam̃ tasmād rākshasād ghora-darśanāt* | *badhārtham̃ tasya bhagavann upāyam̃ kartum arhasi* | *evam uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintayitvā tato 'bravīt* | *hantāyam̃ vihitas tasya badhopāyo durātmanaḥ* | *tena "gandharva-yakshāṉām̃ deva-dānava-rakshasām* | *abadhyaḥ syām" iti proktam̃ tathety uktam̃ cha tad mayā* | *avajnāya tu tad raksho manushān nānvakīrtayat* | *tasmāt sa mānushād badhyo mṛityur nānyo 'sya vidyate* | *etach chhrutvā priyam̃ vākyam Brahmaṉā samudāhṛitam* | *devāḥ S'akra-purogās te harshitāḥ sarvato 'bhavan* | *etasminn antare Vishṉur upayāto mahādyutiḥ* | *śankha-chakra-gadā-pāṉiḥ pīta-vāsāḥ jagat-patiḥ* | *Vainateyam̃ samāruhya bhāskaras toyadam̃ yathā* | *tapta-hāṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ* | *tam abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhishṭutya sannatāḥ* | *ārtānām asi lokānām ārti-hā Madhusūdana* | *yāchāmahe 'tas tvām ārtāḥ śaraṉam̃ no bhavāchyuta* | *brūta kim̃ karavāṉīti Vishṉus tān abravīd vachaḥ* | *iti tasya vachaḥ śrutvā punar ūchur idam̃ surāḥ* | *rājā Daśaratho nāma taptavān sumahat tapaḥ* | *ishṭavām̃ś chāśvamedhena prajā-kāmaḥ sa chāprajāḥ* | *asman-niyogāt tvam̃ Vishṉo tasya putratvam āpnuhi* | *tasya bhāryāsu tisṛishu Hrī-S'rī-Kīrty-upamāsu cha* | *Vishṉo putratvam āgachha kṛitvā "tmāṉam̃ chaturvidham* | *tatra tvam mānusho bhūtvā pravṛiddham̃ lokakaṉṭakam* | *abadhyam̃ daivatair Vishṉo samare jahi Rāvaṉam* | . . . . . 34. *Tvam̃ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshām̃ naḥ parantapa* | *badhāya devaśatrūṉām̃ nṛiṉām̃ loke manaḥ kuru* | *sa niyuktas tathā devaiḥ sākshād Nārāyaṉaḥ prabhuḥ* | *tān uvācha ityādi* |

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on this answer, having regained his consciousness [which had been suspended during his state of meditation], said to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śiras, to obtain for thee a son.' The self-subdued son of Vibhāṉḍaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come

thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa[165] (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Ṛishyasṛinga thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and inspired with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son [standing] with joined hands, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by S'akra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode,[166] these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, O Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, O lord, a boon was formerly granted to him freely by thee when well-pleased, viz. 'Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yakshas.' Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākshasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākshasa of horrible aspect.

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[165] Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

[166] This verse does not combine well with what precedes. See the last note but one (164). Why should the gods disappear in order to reassemble, so far as appears, in the same place (*tasmin sadasi*)? See the text of the Bombay ed., as quoted in note 164, verses 4 and 5. Gorresio's edition connects the disappearance and reappearance of the gods thus, i. 14, 11*b* ff.: *ity uktvā 'ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ S'akra-purogamāḥ* | 12 | *tām̃ dṛishṭvā vidhivad dīkshām̃ kriyamāṇām maharshiṇā* | *upetya lokakartāram Prajāpatim idam̃ vachaḥ* | 13 | *ūchuḥ prāñjalayo bhūtvā Brahmāṇam̃ varadam̃ tatha* | 11*b*: "Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by S'akra, vanished thence. 12. Beholding that initiatory ceremony being duly performed by the great rishi, they approached with joined hands the lord of creatures, the boon-bestowing Brahmā, and spoke as follows," etc. It may also be noticed that Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) is mentioned both in Schlegel's ed. and in Gorresio's (v. 4) as having been one of the gods who were present. If the gods who reappeared were the same as those who disappeared, why was not he among them? But he is said to have arrived afterwards.

Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. 'Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yakshas, gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas;' such was his request, to which I replied, 'Be it so.' But despising men, the Rākshasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by S'akra, were altogether delighted. In the mean time the glorious Vishṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, distressed, beseech thee be our refuge, O Achyuta (Unfalling).' Vishṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hrī, S'rī, and Kīrti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvaṇa, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tratto hi nānyas tam pāpam̃ śakto hantum̃ divaukasām*). Vishṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*deveśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*tridaśa-pungava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskṛita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Vishṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings of a later age. But it is not certain that any portion of this passage formed part of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from Lassen's "Indian Antiquities," (vol. i. p. 488, 1st edition; i. 586, 2nd edition), in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata:

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Kṛishna appear as incarnations of Vishṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress."[167]

In p. 489 (1st edition, p. 587 2nd edition) note, he remarks more particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close, when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu."

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[167] In the Preface to his Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., 4to. ed.(=p. xv. of Dr. Hall's ed.), Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyaṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Kṛishṇa, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyaṇa seems to confirm the opinion of Lassen that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice, a rite of great importance and dignity, was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a "putrīyā ishṭi," for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff. (=Bombay ed. i. 8, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 8, 1).—*Tasya tv evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanaḥ | sutārtham tapyamānasya nāsīd vaṁśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimarthaṁ na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matiṁ kritvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ |* "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in sect. 11, 1 (=Bombay ed. i. 12, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 11, 1), it is said: *Atha kāle vyatikrānte śiśire tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye* *prāpte rājā yashṭum mano dadhe* | *tataḥ prasādya śirasā taṁ vipraṁ deva-varchasam* | *yajnāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai* | "Then, when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then, after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvāli, Vasishṭha, etc., he says to them (v. 8=v. 8*b* Bomb. ed.; v. 11, Gorr.): *Mama tātapyamānasya putrārthaṁ n̂āsti vai sukham* | *tad ahaṁ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matiḥ* | *tad-arthaṁ yashṭum ichhāmi haya-pūrvena karmanā* | "I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim."

We are again told (v. 20):

Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnīr narendro hṛidayangamāḥ | *uvācha dīkshāṁ viśata yakshye 'haṁ suta-kāraṇāt* | "Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, 'Enter upon a course of consecration; I am about to sacrifice for a son.'"

And at the beginning of the 12th section (=Bomb. ed. 13th; Gorr. 12th) it is said: *Punaḥ prāpte vasante tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat* | *prasavārtham gato yashṭum hayamedhena vīryavān* | "Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring."

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kauśalya, "through desire of a son," remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36 [=Bomb. ed. i. 14, 34; Gorr. i. 12, 34]: *Patatriṇā tadā sārddham sushṭhitena cha chetasā* | *avasad rajanīm ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37).[168]

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff. (=Bomb. ed. 14, 58*b*; Gorr. 13, 45).

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[168] See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyāyana Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645. On the word *patatrin*, "winged," applied to the horse, the commentator in the Bombay ed., *in loco*, remarks: *Purā aśvānām pakshāḥ santi iti prasiddhyā evaṁvādaḥ* | *patatriṇā garuḍa-vegena ity anye* | "This is said because it is well known that horses formerly had wings. Others say the meaning of the word is, 'having the speed of Garuḍa' (the fabled bird)."

Dakshiṇāḥ parigṛihyātha suprīta-mānasā dvijāḥ | ūchur Daśaratham tatra kāmam dhyāyeti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Ṛishyaśṛingam rājā Daśarathas tadā | kulasya vardhanam tat tu kartum arhasi suvrata | tatheti sa cha rājānam uvācha dvija-sattamaḥ | bhavishyanti sutā rājams chatvāras te kulodvahāḥ | "Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, 'Think of the object you desire.' The king then said to Ṛishyaśṛinga, 'Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.' The most excellent of Brahmans replied, 'So be it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.'"

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted (p. 165), that Ṛishyaśṛinga, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras, in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had previously come to the aśvamedha sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Ṛishyaśṛinga now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 (=Bombay ed. 15, 31 ff. and 16; Gorr. 15) we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prājāpatyam naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then, after receiving the king's homage, disappears.

Daśaratha gives the half of the potion to Kauśalyā, and a fourth each to Sumitrā and Kaikeyī. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Gorresio, 20) begins thus: *Putratvaṁ tu gate Vishṉau rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ | uvācha devān āhūya Svayambhūr bhagavān idam* | "When Vishṉu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhū (Brahmā) summoned the gods, and said to them." These words must either be said by way of anticipation, for the birth of Daśaratha's sons is not related till we come to section 19; or the section must be misplaced, or interpolated. The commentator in the Bombay ed. explains *gate* by *gantum upakrānte*, "had begun to enter." In Gorresio's ed. this section is placed as the 20th. The section proceeds to describe the creation of the monkeys, who were to be the allies of Rāma.

The conclusion of the aśvamedha sacrifice and the departure of the gods are again alluded to at the commencement of sect. 17 (Schlegel's ed.) in these words: 1. *Samāpte tu kratau tasmin vājimedhe mahātmanaḥ | havirbhāgān avāpyeshṭān jagmur devāḥ yathāgatam* | 2 | *ṛishayaś cha mahātmānaḥ pratijagmuḥ supūjitāḥ | rājānaś chaiva ye tatra kratāv āsan samāgatāḥ* | 1. "When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had been completed, the gods, having received the desired shares of the oblations, departed as they had come. 2. The great rishis, too, after being duly honoured, and the kings who had come to the sacrifice, returned." Here we have another indication that the sections intervening between the 13th and the 17th form a later interpolation. With the commencement of this 17th section of Schlegel's ed., the opening verses of Gorresio's 16th section, and of the 18th section of the Bombay ed., coincide. The last-mentioned recension, however, from which I proceed to quote some verses, touches very briefly on the dismissal of the kings who had come to the sacrifice, and of Ṛishyaśṛinga, and proceeds to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, whilst the other two texts enlarge on the former topics, and do not arrive at the last subject before their 19th section. Sect. 18 of the Bombay ed. begins thus:

1 | *Nivṛitte tu kratau tasmin hayamedhe mahātmanaḥ | pratigṛihyāmarāḥ bhāgān pratijagmur yathāgatam* | 2 | *samāpta-dīkshā-niyamaḥ patnī-gaṉa-samanvitaḥ | praviveśa purīṁ rājā sa-bhṛitya-bala-vāhanaḥ*

3 | *yathārham pūjitās tena rājnā cha pṛithivīśvarāḥ* | *muditāḥ prayayur deśān praṉamya muni-pungavam* | 4 | *śrīmatām̃ gachhatām̃ teshām̃ sva-gṛihāṉi purāt tataḥ* | *balāni rājnām̃ śubhrāṉi prahṛishṭāni chakāśire* | 5 | *gateshu pṛithivīśeshu rājā Daśarathaḥ punaḥ* | *praviveśa purīm̃ śrīmān puraskṛitya dvijottamān* | 6 | *S'āntayā prayayau sārdham Ṛishyaśṛingaḥ supūjitaḥ* | *anugamyamāno rājnā cha sānuyātreṉa dhīmatā* | 7 | *Evam̃ visṛijya tān sarvān rājā sampūrṉa-mānasaḥ* | *uvāsa sukhitas tatra putrotpattim̃ vichintayan* | 8 | *tato yajne samāpte tu ṛitūnām̃ shaṭ samatyayuḥ* | *tataś cha dvādaśe māse ityādi* | 1. "When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals, after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. 2. The ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives, servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 3. The princes, too, after being duly honoured by the king, and having made obeisance to the most excellent muni, departed with joy to their several countries. 4. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted. 5. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city, preceded by the Brahmans. 6. Ṛishyaśṛinga, receiving homage, set out with (his wife) S'āntā, followed by the wise king and his attendants. 7. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons. 8. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed; and in the twelfth month," etc. [The sequel of this passage, together with the parallel verses of Gorresio's edition, will be found in the Appendix.]

Schlegel's ed., as I have already noticed, does not reach the same point of the narrative till its 19th section, which begins by relating the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of the sacrifice, by which no doubt the horse sacrifice is intended (*tato yajne samāpte tu ṛitūnām̃ shaṭ samatyayuḥ* | *tataścha dvādaśe māse ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . . *Jagannātham̃ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam* | *Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmam̃ divya-lakshaṉa-sam̃yutam* | *Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putreṉāmita-tejasā* | *yathā 'dhipena devānām Aditir Vajrapāṉinā* | [**bhavāya sa hi lokānām̃ Rāvaṉasya badhāya cha* | *Vishṉor vīryārdhato jajne Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | *Bharato* *nāma Kaikeyyām̃ jajne satya-parākramaḥ | sākshād Vishṉoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṉaiḥ | atha Lakshmaṉa-Śatrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛiḍha-bhakṭī mahotsāhau Vishṉor ardha-samanvitau |] pushye jātas tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | sārpe jātau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyadite ravau |*

"Kauśalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kauśalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Vishṉu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvaṉa. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Vishṉu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakshmaṉa and Śatrughna, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Vishṉu.] Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion), under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel and Lassen that the 14th, 15th, and 16th sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishṉu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Lakshmaṉa, and Śatrughna, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And, in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishṉu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Vishṉu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

The following is a summary of the episode of the apparition of Paraśurāma referred to above by Prof. Lassen in p. 170. When King Daśaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Janaka, the King of Mithilā, whose daughter Sītā had just been married to

Rāma (Rāmāyaṇa, Schleg. i. 74=Bombay ed. i. 74, and Gorresio's ed. i. 76), he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds uttered by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishṭha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Paraśurāma, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (in section 75), that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka (Rām. i. 67), and had brought another which he asked Rāma to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Paraśurāma) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Daśaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Paraśurāma, but the latter again addresses Rāma, and says that the bow he had broken was S'iva's, but the one he himself had now brought was Vishṇu's. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prichhanti sma Pitāmaham | S'itikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoś cha balābala-nirīkshayā | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijnāya devatānām Pitāmahaḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tayoḥ satyavatāṁ varaḥ | virodhe tu mahad yuddham abhavad roma-harshaṇam | S'itikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoś cha paraspara-jayaishiṇoḥ | tadā tu jṛimbhitam śaivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hunkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamya sarshi-sanghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatus tau surottamau | jṛimbhitaṁ tad dhanur dṛishṭvā śaivaṁ Vishṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Vishṇuṁ devāḥ sarshi-gaṇās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu sankruddho Videheshu mahāyaśāḥ | Devarātasya rājarsher dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idaṁ tu Vaishṇavaṁ. Rāma dhanuḥ para-puranjayam | Ṛichīke Bhārgave prādād Vishṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam'| "The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of S'itikaṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Vishṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between S'itikaṇṭha and Vishṇu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. S'iva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of S'iva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishṇu to be superior.[169] Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishṇu gave this excellent deposit to Ṛichīka, the descendant of Bhṛigu." From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma. After referring to his father's murder by Arjuna,[170] and his own subsequent history, Paraśurāma repeats that he had heard of Rāma's prowess in breaking the other bow, and again asks him to bend Vishṇu's; and in the event of his succeeding, again offers to fight him. Rāma replies (section 76) that though his warlike qualities are contemned by his rival, he will give him a proof of his powers. He then snatches, in anger, the bow from the hand of Paraśurāma, bends it, fits an arrow on the string; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brāhman, and for the sake of his kinsman Viśvāmitra; but will either destroy his superhuman capacity of movement, or deprive him of the blessed abodes he has acquired by austerity. The gods now arrive to be witnesses of the scene. Paraśurāma becomes disheartened and powerless, and humbly entreats that he may not be deprived of his faculty of movement (lest he should be incapacitated from fulfilling his promise to Kaśyapa to leave the earth every night), but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed. He then goes on, v. 17 (Schlegel's and Bombay editions=sect. 77, 49 ff. of Gorresio): *Akshayam Madhuhantāram̃ jānāmi tvām maheśvaram* (or *sureśvaram*) | *dhanusho 'sya parāmarśāt svasti te 'stu parantapa* | 18 | *ete sura-gaṇāḥ sarve nirīkshante samāgatāḥ* | *tvām apratima-karmāṇam apratidvandvam āhave* | 19 | *na cheyam mama Kākutstha vrīḍā bhavitum arhati* | *tvayā trailokya-nāthena yad aham̃ vimukhīkṛitaḥ* | 17. "By the bending of this bow I recognize thee to be the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the great Lord (or lord of the Gods): hail, vanquisher of thy foes! 18. All these assembled gods behold thee who art unequalled in action, unrivalled in fight. 19. It need be no cause of shame to me that I have been humbled by thee who art the lord of the three worlds." Rāma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Paraśurāma's abodes.

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[169] The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: *Vastutas tu prakṛita-yuddhe Vishṇor ādhikya-darśanāt Tripura-badhe S'ivasya ādhikya-darśanāt tayoḥ sāmya-grahaṇam iti tātparyam* | "In reality, as we find that Vishṇu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst S'iva is stronger in the slaughter of Tripura, the result is that their equality must be assumed."

[170] See the first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 449 ff.

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishṉu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishṉu Purāṉa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff. 4to. ed.=pp. 114 ff. vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.), the Harivaṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṉa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishṉu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṉḍa of the Rāmāyaṉa, which I now proceed to quote from the text of the edition published some years ago at Bombay, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Bombay text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge, from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṉu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṉa. In the preceding portion of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvaṉa, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṉḍa, sect. 119, 1 ff.—*Tato hi durmanāḥ Rāmaḥ śrutvaivaṁ vadatāṁ giraḥ | dadhyau muhūrtaṁ dharmātmā vāshpa-vyākula-lochanaḥ | tato Vaiśravaṉo rājā Yamaś cha pitṛibhiḥ saha | Sahasrākshaś cha deveśo Varuṉaścha jaleśvaraḥ | shaḍ-ardha-nayanaḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vṛisha-dvajaḥ | kartā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ |* [[171] *sa cha rājā Daśaratho vimānenāntarīksha-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ deśaṁ deva-rāja-sama-dyutiḥ |*] *ete sarve samāgamya vimānaiḥ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamya nagarīṁ Lankām abhijagmuś cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharaṉān pragṛihya vipulān bhujān | abruvaṉ tridaśa-śreshṭhāḥ Rāghavam prāñjaliṁ*

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[171] This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.

sthitam | kartā sarvasya lokasya śreshṭho jnānavidām̃ vibhuḥ | upekshase katham̃ Sītām patantīm havyavāhane | katham̃ deva-gaṉa-śreshṭham ātmānam̃ nāvabudhyase | Ṛita-dhāmā Vasuḥ pūrvam̃ Vasūnām̃ cha Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṉām̃ hi lokānām ādikartā svayam prabhuḥ | Rudrāṉām ashṭamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānām api panchamaḥ | Aśvinau chāpi te karṉau chandrādityau cha chakshushī | ante chādau cha bhūtānām̃ dṛiśyase tvam parantapa | upekshase cha Vaidehīm mānushaḥ prākṛito yathā | ity ukto lokapālais taiḥ svāmī lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridaśa-śreshṭhān Rāmo dharma-bhṛitām̃ varaḥ | ātmānam mānusham manye Rāmam̃ Daśarathātmajam | so'ham̃ yaścha yataś chāham̃ bhagavām̃s tad bravītu me | iti bruvāṉam̃ Kākutstham̃ Brahmā brahma-vidām̃ varaḥ | abravīt śṛiṉu me vākyam̃ satyam̃ satya-parākrama | bhavān Nārāyaṉaḥ devaḥ śrīmām̃ś chakrāyudhaḥ prabhuḥ | eka-śṛingo varāhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jit | aksharam Brahma satyam̃ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghava | lokānām̃ tvam paro dharmo Vishvaksenaś chaturbhujaḥ | S'ārnga-dhanvā Hṛishīkeśaḥ purushaḥ purushottamaḥ | ajitaḥ khaḍga-dhṛig Vishṉuḥ Kṛishṉaś chaiva vṛihadbalaḥ | Senānīr grāmaṉīḥ satyas tvam buddhis tvam̃ kshamā damaḥ | prabhavaś chāpyayaś cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras tvam padmanābho raṉānta-kṛit | śaraṉyam̃ śaraṉam̃ cha tvām āhur divyāḥ maharshayaḥ | sahasra-śṛingo vedātmā śata-śīrshāḥ maharshabhaḥ | tvam̃ trayānām̃ hi lokānām ādi-kartā svayam prabhuḥ | siddhānām api sādhyānām āśrayaś chāsi pūrvaja | tvam̃ yajnas tvam̃ vashaṭkāras tvam om̃kāraḥ parāt paraḥ | prabhavam̃ nidhanam̃ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān iti | dṛiśyase sarva-bhūteshu brāhmaṉeshu cha goshu cha | dikshu sarvāsu gagaṉe parvateshu nadīshu cha | sahasra-charaṉaḥ śrīmān śata-śīrshāḥ sahasra-dṛik | tvam̃ dhārayasi bhūtāni vasudhām̃ cha sa-parvatām | ante pṛithivyāḥ salile dṛiśyase tvam mahoragaḥ | trīn lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavān | aham̃ te hṛidayam̃ Rāma jihvā devī Sarasvatī | devāḥ romāṉi gātreshu Brahmaṉā nirmitāḥ prabho | nimeshas te smṛitā rātrir unmesho divasas tathā | sam̃skārās te 'bhavan vedāḥ naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvam̃ śarīram̃ te sthairyam̃ te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ kopaḥ prasādas te Somaḥ śrīvatsalakshaṉa | tvayā lokās trayaḥ krāntāḥ purā svair vikramais tribhiḥ | Mahendraś cha kṛito rājā Balim baddhvā sudāruṉam | [[172] yat param̃ śrūyate jyotir yat param̃ śrūyate tamaḥ | yat param parataś chaiva paramātmeti kathyase | paramākhyam param̃ yach cha tvam eva parigīyase | sthity-utpatti-vināśānām̃ tvām āhuḥ paramām̃

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[172] These two verses occur in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.

gatim |] *Sītā Lakshmīr bhavān Vishṇur devaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ* | *badhārihaṁ Rāvaṇasycha pravishṭo mānushīṁ tanum ityādi* |

"Then the righteous Rāma, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [*and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā's throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou wast] formerly the Vasu Ṛitadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,[173] Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the

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[173] In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛishṇa is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Atha Brahmānugrahād eva Brahma-vidyaunmukhyasya śruty-ādi-siddhatayā tad-aunmukyasya* "*ātmānaṁ nāvabudhyase*" *iti Brahmaṇaiva kṛitatvāt taj-jijnāsur iva svīyānāṁ svasvarūpa-bodhanāya Brahmāṇaṁ gurum ajnaḥ iva upāsad ity āha* "*ātmānam*" *iti* | "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how dost thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, with the view of explaining his nature to his (worshippers), applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, and says, 'I regard myself,' etc."

Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Vishvaksena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Sārnga, Hṛishīkeśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Vishṇu, and Kṛishṇa[174] of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the oṁkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.[175] This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Srīvatsa. By thee the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction.] Sītā is Lakshmī,[176] and thou art Vishṇu, the divine Kṛishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvaṇa,' " etc.

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[174] If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛishṇa, the son of Devaki, it must, if not an anachronism, be intended as prophetic. The commentator, both here and further on, makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛishṇas tad-varṇaḥ*).

[175] The commentator explains *saṁskārāḥ* thus: *Saṁskriyante bodhyante ebhir lokāḥ iti saṁskārāḥ pravṛitti-nivṛitti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | "*Sanskāras* are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.

In the same way as Vishṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta, Purāṇas, and other Vaishṇava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛishṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Kṛishṇa is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 169) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Kṛishṇa, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as Professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Kṛishṇa is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his character as the rishi Nārāyaṉa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pāṉḍus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Vishṉu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

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[176] In regard to Lakshmī and S'rī, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 348 f.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Kṛishṉa the son of Devakī is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after-times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,[177] and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else:

Tad ha etad Ghoraḥ Āngirasaḥ Kṛishṉāya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvācha apipāsaḥ eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "akshitam asy achyutam asi prāṉa-saṁśitam asi" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Kṛishṉa the son of Devakī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [*i.e.* desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, 'Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtile principle of breath.' "

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text:

Tad ha etad yajna-darśanaṁ Ghoro nāmataḥ Āngiraso gotrataḥ Kṛishṉāya Devakī-putrāya śishyāya uktvā uvācha | *tad "etat trayam" ityādi vyavahitena sambandhaḥ* | *sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrutvā apipāsaḥ eva anyābhyo vidyābho babhūva* | *itthaṁ cha viśishṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishṉasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyām prati triḍ-vichheda-karī iti purusha-yajna-vidyāṁ stauti* | *Ghoraḥ Āngirasaḥ Kṛishṉāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha* | *sa evaṁ yathokta-yajna-vid anta-velāyām maraṉa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ* |

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[177] I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Kṛishṉa in any other work.

. . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam prāṇasya saṁśitaṁ samyak tanukṛitancha sūkshmaṁ tattvam asi* . . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Āngirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connexion of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the Purusha-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Kṛishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts; . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam* means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtile principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Kṛishṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 1513–1656), in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Kṛishṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Kṛishṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Kṛishṇa then arrive with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) bows down to the earth:

Mahābhārata, Droṉa-parvan, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsudevas tu tam̃ drishṭvā jagāma śirasā kshitim | Pārthena saha dharmātmā gṛiṉan brahma sanātanam | lokādim̃ viśva-karmāṉam ajam īśānam avyayam | manasaḥ paramām̃ yonim̃ kham̃ vāyum̃ jyotishām̃ nidhim | srashṭāram̃ vāridhārāṉām bhuvaścha prakṛitim parām | deva-dānava-yakshāṉām mānavānāncha sādhanam | yogānāncha param brahma tṛiptam brahma-vidām̃ nidhim | charācharasya srashṭāram pratihartāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmānam̃ śakra-sūrya-guṉodayam | vavande tam̃ tadā Kṛishṉo vāñ-mano buddhi-karmabhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāmsaḥ sūkshmādhyātma-padaishiṉaḥ | tam ajam̃ kāraṉātmānam̃ jagmatuḥ śaraṉam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi tam̃ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jnātvā tam̃ sarva-bhūtādim bhūta-bhavya-bhavodbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau dṛishṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṉāv ubhau | suprasanna-manāḥ S'arvaḥ provācha prahasann iva | āgatam̃ vām̃ nara-śreshṭhāv uttishṭhetām̃ gata-klamau | kincha vām īpsitam̃ vīrau manasaḥ kshipram uchyatām | yena kāryeṉa samprāptau yuvām̃ tat sādhayāmi kim | vriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradadāmi vām |*

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛishṉa) then, together with the son of Pṛithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yakshas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, the original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Kṛishṉa then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.[178] Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtile spiritual abode, attain,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again reverenced that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyaṉa, arrived, S'arva (Mahādeva), then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: 'Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.'"

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[178] In a passage from the S'āntiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, Kṛishṉa explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations, and, in fact, one with him. But no hint is given of this here.

Kṛishṉa and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the "soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things" (*viśvātmane viśvasṛije viśvam āvṛitya tishṭhate*). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Kṛishṉa and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the S'atarudriya.[179] Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Kṛishṉa and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

In the Sauptika-parvan, 312 f., Mahādeva, smiling, as it were (*hasann iva*), says to Aśvatthāman: *Satya-śauchārjava-tyāgais tapasā niyamena cha* | *kshāntyā matyā cha dhṛityā cha buddhyā cha vachasā tathā* | 313. *Yathāvad aham ārāddhaḥ Kṛishneṉāklishṭa-karmaṉā* | *tasmād ishṭatamaḥ Kṛishṉād anyo mama na vidyate* | "I have been duly worshipped by Kṛishṉa, the energetic in action, with truth, purity, honesty, liberality, austerity, ceremonies, patience, wisdom, self-control, understanding and words: wherefore no one is dearer to me than Kṛishṉa." (See Prof. Monier Williams's analysis of this book in his "Indian Epic Poetry," pp. 121 ff.)

In a later part of the same book (vv. 765 ff.) Kṛishṉa thus celebrates the greatness of Mahādeva: *Nūnam̃ sa deva-devānām īśvareśvaram avyayam* | *jagāma śaranam̃ Drauṉir ekas tenābadhīd bahūn* | 766 | *prasanno hi Mahādevo dadyād amaratām api* | *vīryam̃ cha giriśo dadyād yenendram api śātayet* | 767 | *vedāham̃ hi Mahādevam̃ tattvena Bharatarshabha* | *yāni chāsya purāṉāni karmāṉi vividhāni cha* | 768 | *ādir*

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[179] A long hymn from the Yajur-veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.

esha hi bhūtānām madhyam antaś cha Bhārata | *vicheshṭate jagach chedam̃ sarvam asyaiva karmaṉā* | 765. "Aśvatthāman resorted to the imperishable lord of lords of the gods of gods as his refuge; and through him he, though but one, slew many. 766. For Mahādeva, if pleased, can bestow even immortality, and prowess whereby any one may overcome even Indra himself. 767. I perfectly know Mahādeva, and his various works of old. 768. For he is the beginning, middle, and end of (all) creatures; and this entire world moves through his agency." See Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," p. 123.

The Anuśāsana-parvan also contains several sections in which the praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Kṛishṉa. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishṭhira asks Bhīshma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.):

Aśakto 'ham̃ guṉān vaktum Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | *yo hi sarva-gato devo na cha sarvatra dṛiśyate* | *Brahma-Vishṉu-sureśāṉām̃ srashṭā cha prabhur eva cha* | *Brahmādayaḥ Piśāchāntāḥ yam̃ hi devāḥ upāsate* | *prakṛitīnām paratvena purushasya cha yaḥ paraḥ* | *chintyate yo yoga-vidbhir ṛishibhis tattva-darśibhiḥ* | *aksharam paramam Brahma asachcha sad-asachcha yat* | *prakṛitim purushanchaiva kshobhayitvā sva-tejasā* | *Brahmāṉam asṛijat tasmād deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ* | *ko hi śakto guṉān vaktum̃ deva-devasya dhīmataḥ* | *garbha-janma-jarā-yukto martyo mṛityu-samanvitaḥ* | *ko hi śakto Bhavam̃ jnātum mad-vidhaḥ Parameśvaram* | *ṛite Nārāyaṉāt putra śankha-chakra-gadā-dharāt* | *esha vidvān guṉa-śreshṭho Vishṉuḥ parama-durjayaḥ* | *divya-chakshur mahātejāḥ vīkshyate* [*vīkshate ?*] *yoga-chakshushā* | *Rudra-bhaktyā tu Kṛishṉena jagad vyāptam mahātmanā* | *tam prasādya tadā devam̃ Badaryām kila Bhārata* | *arthāt*[180] *priyataratvam̃ cha sarva-lokeshu vai tadā* | *prāptavān eva rājendra suvarṉākshād Maheśvarāt* | *pūrṉam̃ varsha-sahasram̃ tu taptavān esha Mādhavaḥ* | *prasādya varadam̃ devam̃ charāchara-gurum̃ S'ivam* | *yuge yuge tu Kṛishṉena toshito vai Maheśvaraḥ* | *bhaktyā paramayā chaiva prītaśchaiva mahātmanaḥ* | *aiśvaryam̃ yādṛiśam̃ tasya jagad-yoner mahātmanaḥ* | *tad ayam̃ dṛishṭavān sākshāt putrārthe Harir achyutaḥ* | *tasmāt parataranchaiva nānyam paśyāmi Bhārata* | *vyākhyātum̃ deva-devasya śakto namāny aśeshataḥ* | *esha śakto mahābāhur vaktum bhagavato guṉān* | *vibhūtinchaiva kārtsnyena satyām māheśvarīm̃ nṛipa* |

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[180] The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Roy. As. Soc reads *annāt*.

"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Vishṉu,[161] and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Purusha), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (*yoga*), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both non-existent, and at once existent and non-existent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyaṉa, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Vishṉu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds[162] [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Kṛishṉa. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Kṛishṉa) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. This Mādhava (Kṛishṉa) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Kṛishṉa, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Kṛishṉa), [when seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him I behold none higher. This large-armed [Kṛishṉa] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent."

Bhīshma then calls upon Kṛishṉa, whom he designates as Vishṉu, and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (*surāsura-guro deva Vishṇo*), to celebrate Mahādeva's greatness. Kṛishṇa accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

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[161] Professor Aufrecht (Catalogue, p. 54a, note) quotes the following verse from the 55th chapter of the Vāyu Purāṉa, as spoken by Mahādeva: *Ayam me dakshiṉo bāhur Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | vāmo bāhuś cha me Vishṉur nityaṁ yuddheshu nirjitaḥ* | "Brahmā, the parent of the universe, is my right arm, and Vishṉu is my left arm, always overcome in battles." Must not the correct reading here be *yuddheshv anirjitaḥ*, "unconquered in battles"?

[162] The printed text reads *vīkshyate*, "is beheld," but the sense seems to require *vīkshate*, "beholds."

Na gatiḥ karmaṇām śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiraṇyagarbha-pramukhāḥ devāḥ sendrāḥ maharshayaḥ | na vidur yasya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sūkshma-darśinaḥ | sa katham nara-mātrena śakyo jnātum satām gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāmśchid bhagavato guṇān | bhavatām kīrtayishyāmi vrateśāya [vrateśasya?] yathātatham | "The course of the deeds of Īśa (Mahādeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiraṇyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Ādityas, the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies."

Kṛishṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys[183] (*kapīndra-putrī*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeshu kinchana | lokān sṛijes tvam aparān ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāṇi vratībhūtena śushyatā | ārādhya paśubhartāram Rukmiṇyām janitāḥ sutāḥ | "For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Kṛishṇa). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds.[184] By thee, after twelve years' fasting and mortification,[185] and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmiṇī (another of his wives)."

Kṛishṇa promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634–652).[186] Kṛishṇa enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

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[183] He is, however, called king of the bears in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, p. 427 f. (vol. iv., pp. 76 and 79 of Dr. Hall's ed.)

[184] Compare what is said of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 404.

[185] This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Kṛishṇa is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

[186] One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Krīḍanti sar-*

(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).[157] The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishṇu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

Hiraṇyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmaraiśvaryam̃ S'arvāt prāptam̃ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāch chhakram̃ varshārbudam ayodhayat | Vishṇoś chakrancha tad ghoram̃ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śīrṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvam̃ dattam̃ chakram̃ tavānagha | jalāntara-charam̃ hatvā daityancha bala-garvitam | utpāditam̃ Vṛishānkena dīptam̃ jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā tubhyam̃ durdharsham̃ tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyam̃ drashṭum anyena varjayitvā Pinākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktam̃ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanam̃ tadā tasya loke nāma pratishṭhitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyānge varadattasya dhīmataḥ | na śastrāṇi vahanty ange chakram̃ vajra-śatāny api | ardamānāścha vibudhā Graheṇa subalīyasā | S'iva-datta-varān jaghnur asurendrān Surāḥ bhṛiśam |

"Hiraṇyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from S'arva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishṇu and the thunderbolt of Ākhaṇḍala[158] (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced

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pair nakulāḥ mṛigair vyāghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dīpta-tapasām̃ sannikarshād mahātmanām | "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents," [the two kinds of creatures being deadly foes], "and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah xi. 6 ff.: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

[157] In v. 655 the appellation *puṇḍarīkāksha*, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of *adhokshaja*, are applied to Kṛishṇa.

[158] This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta, iii. 10: *Ākhaṇḍala pra hūyase* | "O Ākhaṇḍala, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*

by Mahādeva.[189] Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin (the bearer of the bow, *i.e.* Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*mūrdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.). In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the following are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,[190] naked, with excited look (v. 752: *krīḍate*

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[189] In an account of Kṛishṇa's exploits in the Droṇa-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: *Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | Āgneyam astraṁ durdharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śankha*) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

[190] Literally, *ingenti membro virili prædilus.* Compare Sauptika-parvan, v. 289.

ṛishi-kanyābhir ṛishi-patnībhir eva cha | ūrddha-keśo mahāśepho nagno vikṛita-lochanaḥ |). He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.). Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon, however great, at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate in a passage of some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784–829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair Īśaḥ kāraṉa-kāraṉam | na śuśruma yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam muktvā Maheśvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvam̃ vā brūhi yady asti te śrutiḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Vishṉuś cha tvam̃ chāpi saha daivataiḥ | archayethāḥ sadā lingam̃ tasmāch chhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmānkāḥ na chakrānkāḥ na vajrānkāḥ yataḥ prajāḥ | lingānkā cha bhagānkā cha tasmād Māheśvarī prajā | Devyāḥ kāraṉa-rūpa-bhāva-janitāḥ sarvāḥ bhagānkāḥ striyo lingenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaksha-chihnīkṛitāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṉam īśvarāt pravadate devyā cha yad nānkitam̃ trailokye sacharāchare sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatiḥ | pum̃lingam̃ sarvam Īśanam̃ strī-lingam̃ viddhi chāpy Umām | dvābhyām̃ tanubhyām̃ vyāptam̃ hi charācharam idam̃ jagat | "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Vishṉu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Vishṉu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

The saint is at length gratified by the appearance of Mahādeva himself with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837–841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Vishṉu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869 f.):

Savya-deśe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyaṁ vimānam āsthāya haṁsa-yuktam manojavam | vāma-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyaṉaḥ sthitaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | . . . . 875 f. *Astuvan vividhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevaṁ surās tadā | Brahmā Bhavaṁ tadā 'staushīd rathantaram udīrayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deveśaṁ jagau Nārāyaṉas tadā | gṛiṉan brahma paraṁ S'akraḥ śatarudriyam uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṉaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikaḥ | aśobhanta mahātmānas trayas trayaḥ ivāgnayaḥ* | 869. "On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṉa (Vishṉu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus and club. . . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the Rathantara, while Nārāyaṉa hymned the god of gods with the Jyeshṭha sāman, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent S'atarudriya. Brahmā, Nārāyaṉa, and the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kuśika,[191] the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires."

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880–923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

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[191] The epithet of Kaus'ika is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 f.

Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-sattvādir avyayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-jnaḥ pradhāna-purushaḥ paraḥ | yo 'sṛijad dakshiṇād angād Brahmāṇam̃ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārśvat tathā Vishṇum̃ loka-rakshārtham Īśvaraḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'sṛijat prabhur ity ādi | "This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha (or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishṇu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*kshīraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945 ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Kṛishṇa expresses a desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Kṛishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Kṛishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Kṛishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Vishṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (*S'atakratuś cha bhagavān Vishṇuś chāditi-nandanaḥ | Brahmā rathantaram̃ sāma īrayanti Bhavāntike*). Kṛishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

Purastād dhishṭhitaḥ S'arvo mamāsīt tridaśeśvaraḥ | purastād dhishṭhi-

taṁ dṛishṭvā mameśānancha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-S'akrāntaṁ jagad mām abhyudaikshata | īkshituṁ cha Mahādevaṁ na me śaktir abhūt tadā | tato mām abravīd devaḥ "paśya Kṛishṇa vadasva cha | tayā [tvayā?] hy ārādhitaś chāhaṁ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ" | śirasā vandite deve devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvam Sthāṇuṁ stutam Brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ | "Before me stood S'arva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Īśāna standing before me the world from Prajāpati to S'akra (Indra) gazed upon me. I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, 'Behold, Kṛishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.' The god having been reverenced by obeisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods," etc.

Kṛishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Vidmaḥ Krishṇa parām bhaktim asmāsu tava śatruhan | vriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyaḥ prītir hi tvayi me parā | vṛiṇīshvāshṭau varān Kṛishṇa dātāsmi tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-śārdūla yān ichhasi sudurlabhān* | "We know, Kṛishṇa, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain which thou desirest." Kṛishṇa then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyatvam*), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappear, and Kṛishṇa relates to Upamanyu all that has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Taṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva, in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know, vv. 1052 (*Brahmā S'atakratur Vishṇur viśvedevāḥ maharshayaḥ | na vidus tvām tu tattvena kuto vetsyāmahe vayam*). These words appear to have been especially gratifying to the god (vv. 1105 ff.). Taṇḍi had then come to Upamanyu's hermitage, and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Kṛishṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā, was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Kṛishṇa:

Aśubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo ye narāḥ kalushīkṛitāḥ | Īśānam na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vṛittayaḥ | Īśvaram samprapadyante dvijāḥ bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno 'pi yo bhaktaḥ parameśvare | sadṛiśo 'raṇyavāsānām munīnām bhāvitātmanām | Brahmatvam Keśavatvam cha S'akratvam vā suraiḥ saha | trailokyasyādhipatyam vā tushṭo Rudraḥ prayachhati ityādi | "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava (Keśava is a name of Kṛishṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7402 ff., Kṛishṇa relates to Yudhishṭhira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of S'iva, as it is stated below; see page 204), who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛishṇa's wife Rukmiṇī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛishṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmiṇī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛishṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛishṇa performed an Upānśu rite, *i.e.* muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudhishṭhira then says to Kṛishṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): *Durvāsasaḥ prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijnānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyancha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jnātum ichhāmi sarvam matimatāṁ vara | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | Hanta te kīrtayishyāmi namaskṛitya Kapardine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yach chārjitaṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhīye viśāmpate | prānjaliḥ śatarudrīyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śṛiṇu | Prajāpatis tat sasṛije tapaso 'nte mahātapāḥ | S'ankaras tv asṛijat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jangamāḥ | nāsti kinchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishv api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātuṁ kinchid agre mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi sangrāme tasya kruddhasya śatravaḥ | visanjnāḥ hata-bhūyishṭhāḥ vepante cha patanti cha | ghorancha ninadaṁ tasya Parjanya-ninadopamam | śrutvā viśīryed hṛidayaṁ devānām api saṁyuge | yāṁścha ghoreṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kruddhaḥ pināka-dhṛik | na surāḥ nāsurāḥ loke na gandharvāḥ na pannagāḥ | kupite sukham edhante tasminn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpates tu Dakshasya yajato vitate kratau | vivyādha kupito yajnaṁ nirbhayas tv abhavat tadā | dhanushā vāṇam utsṛijya saghoshaṁ vinanāda cha | tena śarma kutaḥ sāntiṁ vishādaṁ lebhire surāḥ | viddhe cha sahasā yajne kupite cha Maheśvare | tena jyā-tala-ghosheṇa sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babhūvur avaśāḥ Pārtha vishedus cha surāsurāḥ | āpaś chukshubhire chaiva chakampe cha vasundharā | vyadravan giriryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha sarvaśaḥ | andhena tamasā lokāḥ prāvṛitāḥ na chakāśire | praṇashṭā jyotishām bhāś cha saha sūryeṇa Bhārata | bhṛiśam bhītās tataḥ śāntiṁ chakruḥ svastyayanāni cha | ṛishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ātmanaś cha hitaishiṇaḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyadravad devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayane kruddhaḥ prahāreṇa vyāśātayat | Pūshāṇaṁ chābhidudrāva pādena cha rushānvitaḥ | puroḍāśam bhakshayato daśanāṁś cha vyaśātayat | tataḥ praṇemur devāś te vepamānās tu S'ankaram | punaś cha sandadhe Rudro dīptaṁ suniśitaṁ śaram | Rudrasya vikramaṁ dṛishṭvā bhītāḥ devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmasuḥ sarve te vibudhottamāḥ | jepuś cha śatarudrīyaṁ devāḥ kṛitvā 'njaliṁ tadā | saṁstūyamānas tridaśaiḥ prasasāda Maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yajne cha viśishṭaṁ te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridaśāḥ rājan śaraṇaṁ cha pra-*

pedire | tena chaiva hi dushṭena (tushṭena?) sa yajno sandhito 'bhavat | yad yach chāpahṛitam̃ tatra tat tathaiva sa jīvayat | Asurāṉām purāṉy āsam̃s trīṉi vīryavatām̃ divi | āyasam̃ rājatam̃ chaiva sauvarṉam api chāparam | nāśakat tāni Maghavā bhettum̃ sarvāyudhair api | atha sarve Mahārudram̃ jagmuḥ śaraṉam arditāḥ | tataḥ ūchur mahātmāno devāḥ sarve samāgatāḥ | Rudra raudrāḥ bhavishyanti paśavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jahi daityān saha purair lokām̃s trāyasva mānada | sa tathoktas tathety uktvā kṛitvā Vishṉum̃ śarottamam | śalyam Agnim̃ tathā kṛitvā punkham̃ Vaivasvatam̃ Yamam | vedān kṛitvā dhanuḥ sarvān jyām̃ cha sāvitrīm uttamām | Brahmāṉam̃ sārathim̃ kṛitvā viniyujya cha sarvaśaḥ | triparvaṉā triśalyena kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | śareṉāditya-varṉena kālāgni-sama-tejasā | te 'surāḥ sa-purās tatra dagdhāḥ Rudreṉa Bhārata | tam̃ chaivānka-gātam̃ dṛishṭvā bālam panchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijnāsamānā vai "ko 'yam" ity abravīt tadā | asūyataś cha S'akrasya vajreṉa praharishyataḥ | sa vajram̃ stambhayāmāsa tam bāhum parighopamam | na sambubudhire chaiva devās tam bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāpatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatīśvare | tato dhyātvā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitaujasam | ayam̃ śreshṭhaḥ iti jnātvā vavande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umām̃ Rudram̃ cha te suraḥ | babhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāhmaṉo bhūtvā Durvāsāḥ nāma vīryavān | Dvāravatyām mama pure chiram̃ kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayunkte sma subahūn mama veśmani | tān udāratayā chāham̃ chakshame chāti-duḥsahān | sa vai Rudraḥ sa cha S'ivaḥ so 'gniḥ S'arvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chendraś cha Vāyuś cha so 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutaḥ | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānaḥ sa Sūryo Varuṉaś cha saḥ | sa kālaḥ so 'ntako mṛityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni cha | māsārdha-māsāḥ ṛitavaḥ sandhye sam̃vatsaraś cha saḥ | sa dhāta sa vidhātā cha viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit | nakshatrāṉi grahāś chaiva diśo 'tha vidiśaś tathā | viśva-mūrtir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutiḥ | ekadhā cha dvidhā chaiva bahudhā cha sa eva hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā śata-sahasraśaḥ | īdṛiśaḥ sa Mahādevo bhūmaḥ[192] sa bhagavān ajaḥ | na hi śakyāḥ guṉāḥ vaktum api varsha-śatair api | Yudhishṭhira mahābāho mahābhāgyam mahātmanaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmne nibodha me | Vadanty Agnim Mahādevam̃ tathā Sthāṉum Maheśvaram | ekāksham tryambakam̃ chaiva viśva-rūpam̃ S'ivam̃ tathā | dve taṉū tasya

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[192] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v. bhūman*, vol. v., p. 1660, where several passages of the Bhāgavata Purāṉa are referred to in which a kindred word, *bhūman*, is applied as an epithet to Kṛishṉa. See also page 347 of the same vol.

devasya brāhmaṉāḥ vedajnāḥ viduḥ | ghorām̃ anyām̃ śivam̃ anyām̃ te tanū bahudhā punaḥ | ugrā ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut sa bhāskaraḥ | śivā saumyā cha yā tv asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāḥ | ātmano 'rdham̃ tu tasyāgniḥ somo 'rdham punar uchyate | brahmacharyam̃ charaty ekā śivā yā 'sya tanus tathā | yā 'sya ghoratamā mūrtir jagat sam̃harate tadā[192*] | *īśvaratvād mahatvāch cha Maheśvaraḥ iti smṛitaḥ | yad nirdahati yat tīkshṉo yad ugro yat pratāpavān | mām̃saśoṉita-majjādo yat tato Rudraḥ uchyate | devānām̃ sumahān yach cha yach chāsya vishayo mahān | yach cha viśvam mahat pāti Mahādevas tataḥ smṛitaḥ | dhūmra-rūpam̃ cha yat tasya dhūrjaṭīty ata uchyate | samedhayati yad nityam̃ sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ | manushyān śivam anvichham̃s tasmād eva S'ivaḥ smṛitaḥ | ityādi*

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishṭhira says to Kṛishṉa: "Thou oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of the wise, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the spirally-braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, O king, the S'atarudrīya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer[193]] at the end of his austerity. Sankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, O king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity: for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* 'even by a scent') incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (*i.e.* of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor any one whom the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daksha was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud shout. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and, incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāśa offering.[194] The gods trembling then made obeisance to S'ankara, and he again fitted on the string the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with

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[192*] With this and the preceding lines compare Droṉap., 9632 ff.

[193] It is part of the White Yajur Veda (Vājasaneyi Sanhita). See further on, chapter iii., section second. It is not reproduced in the passage before us. Compare vol. iii. of this work, on the mode in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

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[194] For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3 f., partially quoted in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 476, note on p. 178, line 6. The entire passage is as follows: *Devāḥ vai yajnād Rudram antar āyan | sa yajnam avidhyat | taṁ devāḥ abhisamagachhanta "kalpatāṁ naḥ idam" iti | te 'bruvan "svishṭaṁ vai naḥ idam bhavishyati yad imaṁ rādhayishyāmaḥ" iti | tat svishṭakṛitaḥ svishṭakṛittvam | tasya āviddhaṁ nirakṛintan* (4) *yavena sammitam | tasmād yava-mātram avadyet | yaj jyāyo 'vadyed ropayet tad yajnasya | yad upa cha stṛiṇīyād abhi cha ghārayed ubhayataḥ saṁśvāyi kuryāt | avadāya abhighārayati | dviḥ sampadyate | dvipād yajamānaḥ | pratishṭhityai | yat tiraśchīnam atihared anabhividdhaṁ yajnasya abhividhyet | agreṇa pariharati tīrthena eva pariharati | tat Pūshṇe paryaharan tat* (5) *Pūshā prāśya dato 'ruṇat | tasmāt Pūshā prapishṭa-bhāgaḥ | adantako hi | taṁ devāḥ abruvan "vi vai ayam ārdhi | aprāśitriyo vai ayam abhūd" iti | tad Bṛihaspataye paryaharan | so 'bibhed Bṛihaspatir "itthaṁ vāva sya ārtim ārishyati" iti | sa etam mantram apaśyat |* "The gods excluded Rudra" [in the form of Svishṭakṛit Agni, Comm.] "from the sacrifice. He pierced the sacrifice [with an arrow]. The gods came together to him, [and said,] 'Let this [rite] of ours be [again] rectified.' They [i.e. certain wise gods, according to the Commentator] said, 'If we propitiate him, this [rite] of ours will be well sacrificed (*svishṭa*).' It is from this that the Svishṭakṛit insures the due performance of the rite." [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the svishṭakṛit is the portion of the sacrifice destined for Agni Svishṭakṛit.] "They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhvaryu priest cut off [the prāśitra portion] only to the extent of a barleycorn. If he cut off more than this, he will break that off from the sacrifice. If he should both spread [ghee] underneath and sprinkle [ghee] above, he would cause the oblation to become swollen on both sides. He is therefore, after cutting off [the prāśitra], only to

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sprinkle [ghee] above it. To do this twice is proper [for the sacrificer has two feet], in order that it may succeed. If he hands [the brāhmān's share] to him across [the altar], he will pierce that part of the sacrifice which is uninjured; whereas if he reaches it to him in front, he does so in the proper direction. They handed that [portion] to Pūshan. Eating it, he broke his teeth. Wherefore Pūshan has a portion of ground meal offered to him; for he is toothless. The gods said of him, 'he has come to grief; he has become unfit for the prāśitra.' They handed it to Bṛihaspati. He was afraid, saying, 'In this way shall one incur misfortune.' He saw this text," etc.

I am indebted to Professor Weber for a German translation of this passage, which has enabled me to correct and improve my own. He remarks that the reason why the prāśitra broke Pūshan's teeth was, that it was 'Rudriya' (see the passage from the S'atap. Br., i. 7, 4, 15 f., adduced at the end of a following quotation), i.e. the portion of the oblation struck by Rudra's shot. This effect of it must be obviated by the use of a text. Professor Weber thinks that *aruṇat* (followed by *tasmāt*), in the above passage, must stand for *aruṇak* (though the root *ruj* is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation), and compares Taitt. S., vii. 4, 9, 1, *asṛid dvābhyām* for *asṛig* (see Ind. Stud., viii. 54, note); Kauś. 39, *nyat* for *nyak; sammad-aṇṇā* for *samyag-ājnā*, Dhammap. verse 57; *sam̃sṛidbhiḥ* from *sam̃sṛip*, Taitt. Br., i. 8, 1, 1; *nadbhyaḥ* from *nap*, R. V., x. 60, 6; *adbhiḥ, adbhyaḥ* from *ap*; *sam̃yat te*, Taitt. S., i. 2, 7, 1 (compare Weber's Indische Streifen, i. 127, note 5).

The S'atap. Br. i. 7, 4, 5, refers to the same story in the sequel of a passage which has already been given above, p. 45. The continuation is as follows: 5 | *Te ha ūchur "upajānīta yathā-idam̃ na amuyā asat kanīyo ha āhuter yathā idam̃ syād" iti* | 6 | *te ha ūchur "Bhagāya enad dakshiṇataḥ āsīnāya pariharata | tad Bhagaḥ prāśishyati tad yathā āhutam eva bhavishyati" iti* | *tad Bhagāya dakshiṇataḥ āsīnāya paryājahruḥ* | *tad Bhago 'vekshānchakre* | *tasya akshiṇī nirdadāha* | *tathā in nūnam̃ tad āsa* | *tasmād āhur "andho Bhagaḥ" iti* | 7 | *te ha ūchur "no nu atra aśamat* | *Pūshṇe enat pariharata" iti* | *tat Pūshṇe paryājahruḥ* | *tat Pūshā prāśa* | *tasya dato nirjaghāna* | *tathā in nūnam̃ tad āsa* | *tasmād āhur "adantakaḥ Pūshā" iti* | *tasmād yam Pūshṇe charum̃ kurvanti prapishṭānām eva kurvanti yathā adantakāya evam* | 5 "They said, 'Take care that this may not be lost; but that it may be less than the oblation.' 6. They said, 'Present it to Bhaga, sitting on the right side; he will eat it; that shall be as if it were offered.' They presented it to Bhaga sitting on the right side; he looked at it; it burned his eyes. That truly happened so. Therefore they say, 'Bhaga is blind.' 7. They said, 'Let it not be so tranquilized. Present it to Pūshan.' Pūshan ate it; it knocked out his teeth. That verily so happened. Wherefore they say, 'Pūshan is toothless.' Hence the cooked oblation they present to Pūshan is of ground materials."

In the sequel of this passage it is said, i. 7, 4, 9: *Sa yat prāśitram avadyati yad eva atra āviddham̃ yajnasya yad Rudriyam̃ tad eva etad nirmimīte* (*bahiḥ karoti nishkarshati*, Comm.) | "The prāśitra which he cuts off, the part of the sacrifice which was pierced, which is connected with Rudra,—that he separates." And further on, i. 7, 4, 15: *Sat prāśnāti* | "*Agnes tvā āsyena prāśnāmi" iti* | *na vai Agnim̃ kinchana pinasti* | *tathā u ha enam etad na hinasti* | 16 | *tad na dadbhiḥ khādet* | "*na id me idam̃ Rudriyam̃ dato hinasad" iti* | *tasmād na dadbhiḥ khādet* | 15. "He eats that, joined hands, muttered the S'atarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as

[saying], 'I eat thee with Agni's mouth.' Nothing destroys Agni. So this does not destroy him. 16. Let no one eat it with his teeth, [thinking], 'Lest this, which is connected with Rudra, destroy my teeth.' Wherefore let no one eat it with his teeth."

The following is a passage from the preceding section of the same Brāhmaṇa: i. 7, 3, 1: *Yajnena vai devāḥ divam upodakrāman* | *atha yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe sa iha ahīyata* | *tasmād vāstavyaḥ ity āhuḥ* | *vāstau hi tad ahīyata* 2 | *sa yena eva devāḥ divam upodakrāmaṁs tena u eva archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ* | *atha yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe yaḥ iha ahīyata* (3) *sa aikshata "aha asya ha antaryanty u mā yajnād" iti* | *so 'nūchchakrāma* | *sa āyatayā uttarataḥ upotpede*| *sa esha svishṭakṛitaḥ kālaḥ* | 4 | *te devāḥ abruvan "mā visrakshīr" iti* | *"te vai mā yajnād mā 'ntargata āhutim me kalpayata" iti* | *"tathā" iti* | *sa samabṛihat sa na āsyat sa na kanchana ahinat* | 5 | *te devāḥ abruvan "yāvanti no havīṁshi gṛihītāny abhūvan sarveshāṁ teshāṁ hutam upajānīta yathā 'smai āhutiṁ kalpayāma" iti* | 6 | *te 'dhvaryum abruvan "yathāpūrvaṁ havīṁshy abhighāraya* | *ekasmai avadānāya punar āpyāyaya* | *ayātayāmani kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadānam avadya" iti* | 7 | *so 'dhvaryur yathāpūrvaṁ havīṁshy abhyaghārayad ekasmai avadānāya punar āpyāyayad ayātayāmāny akarot tataḥ ekaikam avadānam avādyat* | 1. "By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle was excluded here. Hence men call him Vāstavya; for he was excluded [by remaining] on the sacrificial ground (*vāstu*). 2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with that whereby they had ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle, and was here excluded, (3) perceived that the other gods were excluding him from the sacrifice. He followed them, and rose up on the north with . . . . This is the time of the Svishṭakṛit. 4. The gods said to him, 'Do not disturb (the sacrifice).' [He rejoined,] 'Do not exclude me from the sacrifice; give me an oblation.' They agreed. He kept together, and did not scatter, the materials of the sacrifice, or injure anything. 5. The gods said, 'Take notice of all the offerings which have been presented, that we may form an oblation for him.' 6. They said to the Adhvaryu, 'Sprinkle the oblations in order with butter; and again replenish each fragment. Make them fresh; then cut off each part.' 7. The Adhvaryu accordingly sprinkled the oblations in order with butter, replenished each fragment, made them fresh, and divided all the parts from each other."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.* Bhaga and Pūshan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 5, 20 | *Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhuvi* | *ujjahāra sadasstho 'kshṇā yaḥ śapantam asūsuchat* | 21 | *Pūshṇaś chāpātayad dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ* | *S'apyamāne garimaṇi yo 'hasad darśayan dataḥ* | "The god (Mahādeva) in the assembly plucked out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his rage he had felled to the ground, because with his eye he had made a sign to [Daksha] who was cursing [Mahādeva]. 21. And he knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala had done to the king of Kalinga), because, when the great god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth." vi. 6, 41 | *Pūshā 'napatyaḥ pishṭādo bhagra-danto 'bhavat purā* | *yo 'sau Dakshāya kupitaṁ jahāsa vivṛita-dvijaḥ* | "Pūshan formerly became childless, an eater of ground food, toothless, because he had laughed with his teeth disclosed at [Mahādeva], who was incensed against Daksha."

their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before.

"There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,[195] which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,[196] he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra.[197] Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks,[198] Umā, desiring to know,[199] said, 'Who is this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and paralyzed that arm resembling a club. None of the gods, including Prajāpati, understood the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of the slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is S'iva, he is Agni, he is S'arva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is Death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions [or quarters], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Kṛishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudhishṭhira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthāṇu, Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and S'iva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious;[200] and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (īśvara) and great (mahat), he is called Maheśvara. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjaṭi. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (śiva), he is therefore called S'iva," etc., etc.

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[195] See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the Karṇa-parvan of the M.Bh. vv. 1402 ff. below.

[196] See the story from the Karṇa-parvan, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

[197] For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380-384.

[198] Like an ascetic, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v. panchaśikha.*

[199] Or, is the proper reading *jijnāsamānān*, and the sense this: "Umā said to [the gods] who were inquiring, 'Who is this?'" There is a parallel passage in the Droṇa-parvan, v. 9575, which throws some light on the one before us: *Purāṇi dagdhavantam̃ tam̃ devī yātā pravīkshitum | bālam ankagatam̃ kritvā svayam panchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijnāsāmānā vai "ko' yam" ity abravīt surān | asūyataś cha S'akrasya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | bāhum̃ savajram̃ tam̃ tasya kruddhasyāstambhayat prabhuḥ | prahasya bhagavavām̃s tūrṇam sarva-lokeśvaro vibhuḥ | tataḥ sam̃stambhita-bhujaḥ S'akro deva-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | jagāma sa-suras tūrṇam Brahmāṇam prabhum avyayam | te tam praṇamya śirasā prochuḥ prānjalayas tadā | kimapy ankagatam Brahman Pārvatyāḥ bhūtam adbhutam | bāla-rūpa-dharam̃ dṛishṭvā nāsmābhir abhivāditaḥ | tasmāt tvām prashṭum ichhāmo nirjitāḥ yena vai vayam | ayudhyatā hi bālena līlayā sa-purandarāḥ |* "The goddess (Umā) went to see him when he had burnt the cities, having again placed the child with five locks in her lap. She told the gods, who inquired [should we read, *jijāsamānān?* though none of the printed copies read so] 'Who is this?' And the divine lord, master of all the worlds, all-pervading, with a smile, instantly paralyzed the arm and thunderbolt of Indra, who showed ill-will, and in his anger was about to smite with the thunderbolt. Indra, his arm having been paralyzed, immediately went with the gods to Brahmā, the imperishable lord; and bowing with their heads, with joined hands, they said: 'O Brahmā, we have seen in the lap of Pārvatī, a wonderful being bearing the form of a child; and we have not saluted him. Wherefore we desire to ask thee who is the child by whom we, ncluding Indra, have been conquered, as if in play, and without any fight.'"

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[200] In Vāj. S., v. 8, Agni is said to have three bodies. See the second volume of this work, p. 381, note.

In the Bhīshma-parvan (vv. 793 ff.) Kṛishṉa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā :

Sanjayaḥ uvācha | *Dhārtarāshṭram balam̃ dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam* | *Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṉo vachanam abravīt* | *S'rī-bhagavān uvācha* | *S'uchir bhūtvā mahābāho sangrāmābhimukhe sthitaḥ* | *parājayāya śatrūnām̃ Durgā-stotram udīraya* | *Sanjayaḥ uvācha* | *evam ukto 'rjunaḥ sankhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā* | *avatīrya rathāt Pārthaḥ stotram āha kṛitānjaliḥ* |

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāshṭra come near to the conflict, Kṛishṉa, in the interest of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, O large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 169, note 167) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Kṛishṉa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhā-parvan, in which S'iśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Kṛishṉa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhishṭhira having resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabhā-parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Kṛishṉa, who is designated as Hari, the ṛishi, the ancient, identified with the Veda, invisible to those who know him, the highest of things moving and stationary, the source and destroyer of all things, the lord of the past, the future, and the present (v. 1213: *Athaivam bruvatām evam̃ teshām abhyāyayau Hariḥ* | *ṛishiḥ purāṉo vedātmā 'dṛiśyaś chaiva vijānatām* | *jagatas tasthushām̃ śreshṭhaḥ prabhavaś chāvyayaś* (*chāpyayaś*?) *cha ha* | *bhūta-bhavya-bhavan-nāthaḥ Keśavaḥ keśi-sūdanaḥ*). Numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration (vv. 1260 ff.). On this occasion Bhīshma proposed that, apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parvan, 1333 ff.:—*Esha hy eshām̃ samastānām̃ tejo-bala-parākramaiḥ | madhye tapann ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryeṇa nirvātaḥ iva vayunā*[201] | *bhāsitam̃ hlāditam̃ chaiva Kṛishṇenedam̃ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīshmābhyanujnātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavān | upajahre 'tha vidhivad Vārshṇeyāyārghyam uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishṇaḥ śāstra-dishṭena karmaṇā | S'iśupalas tu tām pūjām̃ Vāsudeve na chakshame* | "For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīshma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra. But S'iśupāla could not endure that honour shown to Vāsudeva."

S'iśupāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛishṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: *Ayam̃ cha smṛity-atikrānto hy apageyo 'lpa-darśanaḥ*); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athavā manyase Kṛishṇam̃ sthaviram̃ Kuru-pungava | Vasudeve sthite vṛiddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ* |); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjām̃ tvam punar bahu manyase | havishaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāśitā śveva nirjane* |).[202] Having thus vented his indignation, S'iśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishṭhira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīshma then defends Kṛishṉa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

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[201] This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.

[202] Similarly we read in S'iśupāla's speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 34: . . . . *Gopālaḥ kula-pam̃sanaḥ | yathā kākaḥ puroḍāśam̃ saparyām̃ katham arhati* | "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a crow deserves to eat an oblation?" The commentator thus gives what he calls the "real sense" of these words: "*Gopālaḥ*"

Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chyutaḥ | trayāṉām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujaḥ | Kṛishṉena hi jitāḥ yuddhe bahavaḥ kshatriyarshabhāḥ | jagat sarvaṁ cha Vārshṉeye nikhilena pratisthṭhitam | tasmāt satsv api vṛiddheshu Kṛishṉam archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382. *Nā kevalaṁ vayaṁ kāmāch Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham puraskṛitya kṛitārthaṁ vā kathanchana | archāmahe 'rchitaṁ sadbhir bhuvi bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yaśaḥ śauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsya vijnāyārchām prayujmahe | na cha kaśchid ihāsmābhiḥ subālo 'py aparīkshitaḥ | guṉair vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jnāna-vṛiddho dvijātīnāṁ kshatriyāṉām balādhikaḥ* | "1377: This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Kshatriyas have been conquered by Kṛishṉa: and the whole world rests upon Vārshṉeya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Kṛishṉa, and not the others. . . . . 1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connexion, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy

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iti veda-pṛithivy-ādi-pālakaḥ ity arthaḥ | kutsitaṁ veda-viparītaṁ lapanti iti kulapāḥ pākhaṉḍāḥ | tān aṁsate samāghātayati iti tathā saḥ | "akākaḥ" kaṁ cha akaṁ cha kāke (=kā+āke) sukha-duḥkhe te na vidyete yasya saḥ | "akākaḥ" āptakāmaḥ ity arthaḥ | sa yathā āptakāmo deva-yogyam puroḍāśa-mātraṁ na arhati api tu sarvasvam api tathā 'yaṁ śrī-kṛishṉo brahmarshi-yogyaṁ samarpaṉa-mātraṁ katham arhati | kintv ātma-samarpaṉam apy arhati ity arthaḥ | "'Gopāla' means the protector of the Veda, the earth, etc. 'Ku-lapāḥ' are those who speak what is evil, contrary to the Veda, heretics. 'Kulapāṁsana' (Ku+lapa+aṁsana) is thus one who destroys (*aṁsate*) such persons. 'Akākaḥ' (the commentator chooses here to suppose that there is an elided *a* between *yathā* and *kākaḥ*) is one to whom ('kāke') pleasure and pain (*ka+a+ka*) do not attach; one who has gained all he desires. Just as such an one merits not merely an oblation suitable for a deity, but all wealth also, so Kṛishṉa does not deserve merely the offering suitable for a Brāhman-ṛishi, but also the offering up of one's self."

of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kshatriyas." . . . .

1386: *Pūjyatāyāncha Govinde hetū dvāv api saṁsthitau | veda-vedānga-vijnānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tathā | nṛiṉāṁ loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti viśishṭaḥ Keśavād ṛite | dānaṁ dākshyaṁ śrutaṁ śauryaṁ hrīḥ kīrtir buddhir uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhṛitis tushṭiḥ pushṭiścha niyatā 'chyute | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam āchāryam pitaraṁ gurum | arghyam architam archārhaṁ sarve saṁkshantum arhatha | ṛitvig gurur vivāhyaś cha snātako nṛipatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvaṁ etad Hṛishīkeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chyutaḥ | Kṛishṉaḥ eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛishṉasya hi kṛite viśvam idam bhūtaṁ charācharam | esha prakṛitir avyaktā kartā chaiva sanātanaḥ | paraś cha sarva-bhūtebhyaś tasmād pūjyatamo 'chyutaḥ | Buddhir mano mahad vāyus tejo 'mbhaḥ kham mahī cha yā | chatur-vidhaṁ cha yad bhūtam sarvaṁ Kṛishṉe pratishṭhitam |* . . . . .

1396: *Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho bālaḥ S'iśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛishnaṁ tasmād evam prabhāshate | yo hi dharmaṁ vichinuyād utkṛishṭam matimān naraḥ | so vai paśyed yāthā dharmaṁ na tathā Chedi-rāḍ ayam | sa-vṛiddha-bāleshv athavā pārthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate Kṛishṉaṁ ko vā py enaṁ na pūjayet | athainām dushkṛitām pūjāṁ S'iśupālo vyavasyati | dushkṛitāyāṁ yathānyāyaṁ tathā 'yaṁ kartum arhati |*

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hṛishīkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kṛishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, movable and immovable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Kṛishṇa.[203] He is undistinguishable matter (prakṛiti), and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (mahat), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Kṛishṇa. . . . . . 1396. The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, S'iśupāla, does not know that Kṛishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Kṛishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? S'iśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

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[203] The grounds urged for honouring Kṛishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of his qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

S'iśupāla afterwards renews his vilifications of Kṛishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

1433. *S'iśupālaḥ uvācha | vibhīshikābhir bahvībhir bhīshayan sarvapārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmād vṛiddhaḥ san kula-pām̃sanaḥ | yuktam etat tṛitīyāyām prakṛitau vartatā tvayā | vaktum̃ dharmād apetārtham̃ tvam̃ hi sarva-kurūttama[ḥ] | nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anviyāt | tathā bhūtāḥ hi Kauravyāḥ yeshām Bhīshma tvam agraṇīḥ | Pūtanā-ghāta-pūrvāṇi karmāṇy asya viśeshataḥ | tvayā kīrtayatā 'smākam bhūyaḥ pravyathitam manaḥ | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavam̃ stotum̃ ichhataḥ | katham Bhīshma na te jihvā śatadheyam̃ vidīryyate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīshma bālatarair naraiḥ | tam imam̃ jnāna-vṛiddhaḥ san gopam sam̃stotum ichhasi | yady anena hatā bālye śakuniś chitram atra kīm | tau vā 'śva-vṛishabhau Bhīshma yau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetanā-rahitam̃ kāshṭham̃ yady anena nipātitam | pādena śakaṭam Bhīshma tatra kim̃ kṛitam adbhutam | valmīka-mātraḥ saptāham̃ yady anena dhṛito 'chalaḥ | tadā Govardhano Bhīshma na tach chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annam̃ krīḍatā naga-mūrdhani | iti te Bhīshma śṛiṇvānāḥ param̃ vismayam āgatāḥ | yasya chānena dharma-jna bhuktam annam balīyasaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kam̃saḥ ity etan na mahādbhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīshma nūnam̃ kathayatām̃ satām | yad vakshye tvām adharma-jnam̃ vākyam̃ Kuru-kulādhama | strīshu goshu na śastrāṇi pātayed brāhmaṇeshu cha | yasya chānnāni bhuñjīta yasya cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsanti sajjanam̃ dharmiṇaḥ sadā | Bhīshma loke hi tat sarvam̃ vitatham̃ tvayi dṛiśyate | jnāna-vṛiddham̃ cha* *vṛiddham̃ cha bhūyām̃sam̃ Keśavam mama | ajānataḥ ivākhyāsi sam̃stuvan Kauravādhama | go-ghnaḥ strī-ghnaś cha san Bhīshma tvad-vākyād yadi pūjyate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīshma katham̃ sam̃stavam arhati* | . . . 1451. *Nūnam prakṛitir eshā te jaghanyā nātra sam̃śayaḥ | ataḥ pāpīyasī chaishām Pāṉḍavānām apīshyate | yeshām archyatamaḥ Kṛishṉas tvam̃ cha yeshām pradarśakaḥ | dharmavām̃s tvam adharma-jnaḥ satām mārgād avaplutaḥ | ityādi* |

S'iśupāla answers Bhīshma: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarms? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the third condition,[204] shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīshma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his (Kṛishṉa's) slaughter of Pūtanā[205] and other feats. How is it, Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogize the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew S'akuni,[206] or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,[207] what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,[208] I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, O Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women,[209] cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīshma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is, according to thy word, to be reverenced,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shown to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Kṛishṇa is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!"

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[204] The commentator explains this phrase as follows: *Dve prakṛitī pariṉāminyau māyā tasyām̃ chit-prativimbas 'cha | tṛitīyā prakṛitis tv etad-ubhayādhyāsādhishṭhānam̃ nirviśesham̃ vastu | tatra vartatā vartamānena*, etc. "Two conditions are changeable, viz. (1) illusion (*māyā*) and (2) the reflected image of thought (*chit-prativimba*) in it. The third condition is the basis of the erroneous ascription of the other two, substance without distinction," etc. I am indebted to Dr. R. Rost for an important suggestion regarding the combination of two of the words in this sentence. Dr. Rost informs me that in the text one MS. reads *kurūttamaḥ* and another *sarvam̃ kurūttama*.

[205] A female demon slain by Kṛishṉa.—See Wilson's Vishṉu Purāṉa, p. 506 (vol. iv., p. 276, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

[206] See the Udyoga-parvan 4409, where Pūtanā and S'akunī (there spelt with a long ī) are mentioned together as having been slain by Kṛishṉa in childhood.

[207] See Vishṉu Purāṉa, p. 508 (vol. iv., p. 279, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

[208] See Vishṉu Purāṉa, p. 526 (vol. iv., p. 315, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīshma from assaulting S'iśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīshma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of S'iśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's inquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Kṛishṇa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.[210] On seeing this, his mother begged a boon from Kṛishṇa, viz. that he would forgive S'iśupāla's offences. Kṛishṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

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[209] See above, pp. 152 f.

[210] On this story of S'iśupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): "S'iśupāla in this case represents S'iva, and the conflict of the S'iva-worship with that of Vishṇu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the dis-

Evam esha nṛipaḥ pāpaḥ S'iśupālaḥ sumanda-dhīḥ | tvām samāhvayate vīra Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir.yayā tvā "hvayate 'chyutam | nūnam esha jagad-bhartuḥ Kṛishṇasyaiva viniśchayaḥ | ko hi mām Bhīmasenādya kshitāv arhati pārthivaḥ | ksheptum kāla-parītātmā yathaisha kula-pāṁsanaḥ | esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'ṁśaś cha Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhaty uta tathā vibhuḥ | yenaisha Kuru-śārdūla śārdūlaḥ iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty atīva durbuddhiḥ sarvān asmān achintayan |

"Thus this wicked king S'iśupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, O hero. This does not show wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Kṛishṇa, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, O Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (S'iśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in consequence of which, O chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

S'iśupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.), and asks why Kṛishṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīshma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīshma should be killed or burned. Bhīshma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Kṛishṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that

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appearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Kṛishṇa. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Kṛishṇa's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page (p. 823, second ed.): "S'iśupāla is probably an earlier name of S'iva, who is called 'Paśupati,' or lord, protector, of beasts. 'S'iśu' denotes the young of men and beasts, and 'pāla' protector. He had a second name 'Sunītha' (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. S'iśupāla hereupon challenges Kṛishṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutvaiva Bhīshmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikramaḥ | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsudevam uvācha ha | āhvaye tvām̃ raṇam̃ gachha mayā sārdham̃ Janārdana | yāvad adya nihanmi tvām̃ sahitam̃ sarva-Pāṇḍavaiḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛishṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ | nṛipatīn samatikramya yair arājā tvam architaḥ | ye tvām̃ dāsam arājānam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛishṇa badhyās te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-śārdūla* [*s?*] *tasthau garjann amarshaṇaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Kṛishṇo mṛidu-pūrvam idam̃ vachaḥ | uvācha pārthivān sarvāṇ sa samaksham̃ cha Pāṇḍavān | esha naḥ śatrur atyantam pārthivāḥ Sātvatī-sutaḥ | Sātvatānām̃ nṛiśam̃sātmā na hito 'napakāriṇām | Prāgjyotisha-puram yātān asmān jnātvā nṛiśam̃sa-kṛit | adahad Dvārakām esha svasrīyaḥ san narādhipāḥ | krīḍato Bhoja-rājasya esha Raivatake girau | hatvā baddhvā cha tān sarvān upāyāt sva-puram purā | aśvamedhe hayam medhyam utsṛishṭam̃ rakshibhir vṛitam | pitur me yajna-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Sauvīrān pratiyātāncha Babhror esha tapasvinaḥ | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akāmā* [*m̃?*] *tām ito gatām | esha māyā-pratichhannaḥ Kārūshārthe tapasvinīm | jahāra Bhadrām̃ Vaiśālīm mātulasya nṛiśam̃sa-vat | pitṛi-svasuḥ kṛite duḥkham̃ sumahad marshayāmy aham | dishṭyā hīdam̃ sarva-rājnām̃ sannidhāv adya vartate | paśyanti hi bhavanto 'dya mayy atīva vyatikramam | kṛitāni tu paroksham me yāni tāni nibodhata | imam̃ tv asya na śakshyāmi kshantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukmiṇyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanā "sīd mumūrshataḥ | na cha tām prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śūdraḥ vedaśrutīm iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitās te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudeva-vachaḥ śrutvā Chedi-rājam̃ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanam̃ śrutvā Siśupālaḥ pratāpavān | jahāsa svanavaddhāsam̃ vākyam̃ chedam uvācha ha | mat-pūrvām Rukmiṇīm̃ Kṛishṇa sam̃satsu parikīrtayan | viśeshataḥ pārthiveshu vrīḍām̃ na kurushe katham | manyamāno hi kaḥ satsu purushaḥ parikīrtayet | anya-pūrvām̃ striyam̃ jātu tvad-anyo Madhusūdana | kshama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama kshama | kruddhād vā 'pi prasannād vā kim̃ me tvatto bhavishyati | tathā bruvataḥ evāsya bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakram̃ daitya-garva-nisūdanam | etāsminn eva kāle tu chakre hasta-gate sati | uvācha bhagavān uchchair vākyam̃ vākya-viśāradaḥ | śṛiṇvantu me mahīpālāḥ yenaitat* *kshamitam mayā | aparādha-śatam̃ kshāmyam mātur asyaiva yāchane | dattam mayā yāchitam̃ cha tad vai pūrṉam̃ hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā badhayishyāmi paśyatām̃ vo mahīkshitam | evam uktvā Yadu-śreshṭhaś Chedirājasya tat-kshaṉāt | vyapāharach chhiraḥ kruddhaś chakreṉāmitrakarshaṉaḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur vajrāhataḥ ivāchalaḥ |*

"The king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, after he had heard Bhīshma, then addressed the former: 'I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṉḍavas. For together with thee, Kṛishṉa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṉḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through folly, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.' Having so spoken, the tiger of kings stood growling and indignant. Kṛishṉa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṉḍavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sātvatī, O princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sātvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, a sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father's sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he, like a cruel wretch, carried off for the Kārusha the devout Bhadrā, daughter of Viśāla, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (S'iśupāla's mother), I submit to great vexation. Fortunately, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the full assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṉī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Sūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva, all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty S'iśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it, that thou art not ashamed, Kṛishṇa, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?[211] For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Kṛishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, O kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt."[212]

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[211] Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to S'iśupāla, as we are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573, first ed.; p. 69, vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.): *Bhīskmakaḥ Kuṇḍine rājā Vidarbha-vishaye 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat putro Rukmiṇī cha varāṅganā | Rukmiṇīm̃ chakame Kṛishṇaḥ sā cha tām̃ chāru-hāsinī | na dadau yāchate chainām̃ Rukmī dveshena chakriṇe | dadau cha S'iśupālāya Jarāsandha-prachoditaḥ | Bhīshmako Rukmiṇā sārddham̃ Rukmiṇīm uru-vikramaḥ |* "Bhīshmaka was king in Kuṇḍina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Kṛishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweetly-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīshmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to S'iśupāla." Kṛishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding. The story is told at greater length in the Harivam̃śa, sect. 117, vv. 6579 ff.; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. sections 43 ff.

[212] See the sequel, vv. 1585–1588. The Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson's translation, p. 437, first ed.; vol. iv. p. 104, of Dr. Hall's ed.) tells that S'iśupāla had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiraṇyakaśipu, who was killed by Vishṇu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Rāvaṇa, who was slain by Rāma. In his character as S'iśupāla he evinced an intense hatred towards Vishṇu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," (V. P. iv. 14, 14: *S'iśupālatvena bhagavato bhū-bhārāvatāraṇāya avatīrṇām̃śasya Puṇḍarīkanayanākhyasya upari dveshānubandham atitarām̃ chakāra |*) and was in consequence slain by him;

Duryodhana, the son of Dhṛitarāshṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Kṛishṇa's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Kṛishṇa, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (*pṛīthivīnchāntarīkshancha dyām chaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishṭātmā nayaty ātma-vaśam vaśī*)| He then goes on to say, vv. 2529 ff.:

Ekato vā jagat kṛitsnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛitsnād atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kṛitsnam jagach chhaktam bhasmīkartum Janārdanam | yataḥ satyam yato dharmo yato hrīr ārjavam yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindo yataḥ Kṛishṇas tato jayaḥ | pṛithivīm chāntarīkshancha divancha Purushottamaḥ | vicheshṭayati bhūtātmā krīḍann iva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛitvā Pāṇḍavān satram lokam sammohayann iva | adharma-niratān mūḍhān dagdhum ichhati te sutān | kāla-chakram jagach-chakram yuga-chakrancha Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivartayate 'niśam | kālasya cha hi mṛityoścha jangama-sthāvarasya cha | īśate bhagavān ekaḥ satyam etad bravīmi te | īśann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāṇy ārabhate kartum kīnāśaḥ iva vardhanaḥ | tena vanchayate lokān māyāyogena Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | katham tvam Mādhavam vettha sarva-loka-maheśvaram | katham enam na vedāham tad mamāchakshva Sanjaya | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | śriṇu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvasto nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | kartāram akṛitam devam bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ

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but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," S'iśupāla became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Kṛishṇa as an object of hatred was ever present to S'iśupāla's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of S'iśupāla's brother, king of the S'ālvas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Kṛishṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvan, vv. 615–890.

uvācha | *Gāvalgaṇe 'tra kā bhaktir yā te nityam̃ Jānardane* | *yathā tvam abhijānāsi triyugam Madhusūdanam* | *Sanjayaḥ uvācha* | *māyām̃ na seve bhadram̃ te na vṛithā dharmam āchare* | *śuddha-bhāvam̃ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam* | *Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha* | *Duryodhana Hṛishīkeśam prapadyasva Janārdanam* | *āpto naḥ Sanjayas tāta śaraṇam̃ gachha Keśavam* | *Duryodhanaḥ uvācha* | *Bhagavān Devakī-putro lokām̃ś ched nihanishyati* | *pravadann Arjune sakhyam̃ nāham̃ gachhe 'dya Keśavam* | 2529. "On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore is he Govinda; since he is Kṛishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pāṇḍavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhṛitarāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world, and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being alone is lord of time, of death, and of things movable and immovable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator, though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, O king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana, who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction. Dhṛitarāshṭra asks: O Gāvalgaṇi (Sanjaya), what is this devotion of thine to Janārdana, whereby thou recognizest him to exist in the three Yugas? Sanjaya answers: I do not pursue a delusion, bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the scripture (*śāstra*). Dhṛitarāshṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishīkeśa, Janārdana: Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Keśava as thy refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort today to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihato Bhīmasenena smartāsi vachanam pituḥ*)." After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Kṛishṉa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjayaḥ uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanam̃ śubham | yāvat tatrābhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasanāṭ sarva-bhūtānām̃ vasutvād deva-yonitaḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛihatvād Vishṉur uchyate | maunād dhyānāch cha yogāchcha viddhi Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tattvamayatvāch cha Madhuhā Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śaodo ṉaścha nirvṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Vishṉus tad-bhāva-yogāchcha Kṛishṉo bhavati Sātvataḥ | puṉḍarīkam param̃ dhāma nityam akshayam avyayam | tadbhāvāt Puṉḍarīkāksho dasyu-trāsāj Janārdanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na chyavate yach cha sattvād na hīyate | sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārshabhād Vṛishabhekshaṉaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam Ajas tasmād anīkajit | devānām̃ sva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harshāt sukhāt sukhaiśvaryād Hṛishīkeśatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasī bibhrad mahābāhur iti smṛitaḥ | adho na kshīyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhokshajaḥ | narāṉām ayanāch chāpi tato Nārāyaṉaḥ smṛitaḥ | pūraṉāt sadanāch chāpi tato 'sau Purushottamaḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhavāpyayāt | sarvasya cha sadā jnānāt Sarvam etam prachakshate | satye pratishṭhitaḥ Kṛishṉaḥ satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyāt satyancha Govindas tasmāt Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Vishṉur vikramaṉād devo jayanāj Jishṉur uchyate | śāśvatatvād Anantaścha Govindo vedanād gavām | atattvam̃ kurute tattvam̃ tena mohayate prajāḥ | evam̃vidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur ānṛiśam̃syārtham achyutaḥ |

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛihatvāt*) he is called Vishṉu. From his silence, (*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Mādhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is

Madhuhan, and Madhusūdana. The word kṛishi denotes 'earth,' and ṇa denotes 'cessation'; Vishṇu, from containing the nature of these things, is Kṛishṇa, the Sāttvata. Puṇḍarīka means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is Puṇḍarīkāksha. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*sattva*), therefore, from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (*ārshabhat*) he is Vṛishabhekshaṇa. As he is not generated by a father, he is Aja (the unborn), the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the mighty being is Dāmodara. He obtains his character as Hṛishīkeśa from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na kshīyate*) he is Adhokshaja. From movement among men (*narāṇām*[213] *ayanat*) he is called Nārāyaṇa. From filling (*pūraṇāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is Purushottama. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarvasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him Sarva. Kṛishṇa is based on truth (*satye*), and truth is based on him, and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is also called Satya. The god is called Vishṇu from striding (*vikramaṇāt*), Jishṇu from conquering (*jayanāt*), Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from the possession of cattle[214] (*vedanād gavām*). He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the sake of innocence."

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[213] Perhaps the true reading is *nārāṇām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 31.

[214] Another explanation of this name is given in S'ānti-parvan, v. 13228 f.: *Nashṭām cha dharaṇīm pūrvam avindam vai guhāgatām | Govindaḥ iti tenāhaṁ devair vāgbhir abhisthṭutaḥ* | "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as Govinda." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the Ādi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: *Gāṁ vindatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitaujasā | varāha-rūpiṇā chāntar vikshobhita-jalāvilam* | "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine Govinda of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar found the earth [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215), which seems to show that, at the period when it was written, the Hindūs were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-vṛiddhi-kshaya-vaśād udvṛittormi-samākulam* | "[The ocean] tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Kṛishṉa, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shows the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parvan that Kṛishṉa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pāṉḍus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Kṛishṉa. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Kṛishṉa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

Vidureṉaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pūga-hā | Duryodhanam̃ Dhārtarāshṭram abhyabhāshata vīryavān | eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyāse mām̃ Suyodhana | paribhūya sudurbuddhe grahītum mām̃ chikīrshasi | ihaiva Pāṉḍavāḥ sarve tathaivāndhaka-vṛishṉayaḥ | ihādityāścha Rudrāś cha Vasavaś cha saharshibhiḥ | evam uktvā jahāsochchaiḥ Keśavaḥ para-vīra-hā | tasya sam̃smayataḥ S'aurer vidyud-rūpāḥ mahātmanaḥ | angushṭha-mātrās tridaśāḥ mumuchuḥ pāvakārchishaḥ | asya Brahmā lalāṭa-stho Rudro vakshasi chābhavat | loka-pālāḥ bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajāyata | Ādityāś chaiva Sādhyāś cha Vasavo 'thāśvināv api | Marutaś cha sahendreṉa Viśve devāś tathaiva cha | babhūvus chaika[215]*-rūpāṉi Yaksha-Gandharva-Rakshasām | prādurāstam̃ tathā dorbhyām̃ Sankarshaṉa-Dhananjayau | dakshiṉe 'thārjuno dhanvī halī Rāmaś cha savyataḥ | Bhīmo Yudhishṭhiraś chaiva Mādrī-putrau cha pṛishṭhataḥ | Andhakāḥ Vṛishṉayaś chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhās tataḥ | agre babhūvuḥ Kṛishṉasya samudyata-mahāyudhāḥ | śankha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṉga-lāngala-nandakāḥ | adriśyantodyatāny eva sarva-praharaṉāni cha | nānā-bāhushu Kṛishṉasya dīpyamānāni sarvaśaḥ | ityādi.*

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra: 'Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, O fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṉḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛishṉis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken, Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty descendant of Sūra [Kṛishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the sizé of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Rākshasas. Sankarshaṇa and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhishṭhira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vṛishṇis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Kṛishṇa."

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[215] Quere, may not *chaiva* be the proper reading?

In the next passage, taken from the Karṇa-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Kṛishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karṇa promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karṇa says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Kṛishṇa) (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛiṇ na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Kṛishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Kṛishṇaś cha srashṭā jagato rathaṁ tam abhirakshati*[216]), if, in like manner, Salya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Kṛishṇa) and, as well as Dāśārha, (Kṛishṇa) who knows a horse's heart, is skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karṇa thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadṛiśah S'aureḥ S'alyaḥ samiti-śobhanaḥ* | *sārathyaṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet* | . . . . 1311: *Evam abhyadhikaḥ Pārthāt bhavishyāmi guṇair aham* | *S'alyo 'py abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham* | *yathā 'śva-hṛidayaṁ veda Dāśārhaḥ para-*

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[216] If the words *srashṭā jagataḥ*, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karṇa could have regarded Kṛishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling S'alya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

vīra-hā | tathā S'alyo 'pi jānīte haya-jnānam mahārathaḥ |) Duryodhana then goes to S'alya, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karṇa, saying that he (S'alya) was equal to Kṛishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karṇa but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyam rathinām śreshṭha praṇayāt kartum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādheyo vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhīshūṇām hi Karṇasya grahītā 'nyo na vidyate | ṛite hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samam yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karṇam yathā. Brahmā Maheśvaram* |). S'alya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karṇa, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pīnau mama bhujau vajra-samhananopamau* | . . 1363: *Dārayeyam mahīm kṛitsnām vikireyam cha parvatān | S'oshayeyam samudrāmś cha tejasā svena pārthiva* |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior[217] (v. 1365: *Kasmād yunakshi sārathye nīchasyādhirathe raṇe | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktum tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe* |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karṇa as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Karṇo 'bhyadikas tvattaḥ*), but considered Karṇa to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (S'alya) as superior to Kṛishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhyadhikam S'alya guṇaiḥ Karṇam Dhananjayāt | bhavantam Vāsudevāch cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karṇo hy abhyadhikaḥ Pārthād astrair eva nararshabha | bhavān abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād aśva-jnāne bale tathā | yathā 'śvahṛidayam veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ | dviguṇam tvam tathā vetsi Madrarājeśvarātmaja* |). S'alya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Kṛishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karṇa, vv. 1387 ff.: *Yad mām bravīshi Gāndhāre*

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[217] He regarded Karṇa as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (*sūta-putrasya*, v. 1374).

madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśishṭaṁ Devakīputrāt prītimāṇ asmy ahaṁ tvayi | esha sārathyam ātishṭhe Rādheyasya yaśasvinaḥ | yudhyataḥ Pāṇḍavāgryeṇa yathā tvaṁ vīra manyase | samayaś cha hi me vīra kaśchid Vaikartanam prati | utsṛijeyaṁ yathā-śraddham ahaṁ vācho 'sya sannidhau | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te saha Karṇena Bhārata | abravīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama | "I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa when he fights with the chief of the Pāṇḍavas, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have entered into a certain agreement with Karṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used." Sanjaya proceeded: "Thy son (*i.e.* Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (S'alya)."

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading S'alya to act as charioteer to Karṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd–35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to S'alya an ancient story, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three castles, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three castles should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the castles with a single arrow (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṇi triṇy eva samāsthāya mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'smin . . . . tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekībhāvaṁ gamishyanti purāṇy etāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavāṁs tadā | ekeshuṇā deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhavishyati* |). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three castles, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on earth[218] (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above mentioned severally occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāksha, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond within their castle, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the castles of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the titans (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the castles could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, who gives security amid alarms, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the "yoga" and the "sānkhya" of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya gṛiṉanto brahma śāśvatam* | . . . . *tushṭuvur vāgbhir ugrābhir bhayeshv abhaya-dam̃ nṛipa* | *sarvātmānam mahātmānam̃ yenāptam̃ sarvam ātmanā* | *tapo-viśeshair vividhair yogam̃ yo veda chātmanaḥ* | *yaḥ sānkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vaśe sadā* |). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as "the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world" (1442: *sarva-bhūtamayam̃ dṛishṭvā tam ajam̃ jagataḥ patim* |). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he himself alone could not destroy them, as they were strong, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not sustain half of his strength (*vibhartuṁ tava tejo 'rdhaṁ na śakshyāmaḥ*), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*ardham ādāya sarveshāṁ tejasā 'bhyadhiko' bhavat | sa tu devo balenāsīt sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti S'ankaraḥ*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469: *mūrtīḥ sarvāḥ samādhāya trailokyasya tatas tataḥ | rathaṁ te kalpayishyāmaḥ*). The composition of the car, formed by Viśvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471–1492). Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow; for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power.[219] Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce fury, intolerable, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . . 1507. He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthāṇu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, movable and immovable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold." (*Ishuś chāpy abhavad Vishṇur Jvalanaḥ Somaḥ eva cha | Agnī-Somaṁ jagat kṛitsnaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ chochyate jagat | Vishṇuś chātmā bhagavato*

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[218] See above p. 203; and the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff.

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[219] Can these words be a Vaishṇava addition to the passage?

Bhavasyāmita-tejasaḥ | *tasmād dhanur jyā-saṁsparśaṁ na vishehur Harasya te* | *tasmin śare tigma-manyum mumochāsahyam Īśvaraḥ* | *Bhṛigv-Angiro-manyu-bhavaṁ krodhāgnim ati-dussaham* | *sa nīla-lohito dhūmraḥ kṛittivāsāḥ bhayankaraḥ* | . . . . 1507: *Nityaṁ trātā cha hantā cha dharmādharmāśritān narān* | *pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-rūpair manojavaiḥ* | *vibhāti bhagavān Sthāṇus tair evātma-guṇair vṛitaḥ* | *tasyāngāni samāśṛitya sthitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat* | *jangamājangamaṁ rājan śuśubhe 'dbhuta-darśanam* |)

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he (*mattaḥ śreshṭhataro hi yaḥ*) should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā, and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,[220] and arrives at the triple castle of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishṇu in the arrow, when it is being fitted on the string, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Vishṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva again fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple castle (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting S'alya to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to

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[220] In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his strength (*ṛishayas tatra deveśaṁ stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaiḥ* | *tejaś chāsmai vardhayanto rājann āsan punaḥ punaḥ*). This is a pure Vedic touch, the same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises being occasionally asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 91. In most of the texts there cited, however, it is perhaps only meant that the gods were gratified by the praises addressed to them.

Karṇa. S'alya, he adds, is superior to Kṛishṇa, Karṇa, and Arjuna, and as Karṇa resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so S'alya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell S'alya another story about Paraśurāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him, and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to receive them. Paraśurāma renews his austerities and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806), and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karṇa (1613), which proves that Karṇa is free from sin; and Karṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Kshatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger resembling the sun (*katham āditya-sadṛiśam mṛigī vyāghraṁ janishyati* | 1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to S'alya to perform the same office to Karṇa. S'alya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Kṛishṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, S'alya adds, if Karṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛishṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no prince would be able to stand before him among his opponents when he was incensed, (v. 1629 ff.: *Yadi hanyāch cha Kaunteyaṁ Sūta-putraḥ kathanchaṇa* | *dṛishṭvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Keśavaḥ* | *śankha-chakra-gadā-pāṇir dhakshyate tava vāhinīm* | *na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vārshṇeyasya mahātmanaḥ* | *sthāsyate pratyanīkeshu kaśchid atra nṛipas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karṇa, and of S'alya himself: (1643) *Tvam śalya-bhūtaḥ śatrūṇām avishahyaḥ parākrame* | *tatas tvam uchyase rājan S'alyaḥ ity ari-sūdana* | *tava bāhu-balam prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sātvatāḥ* | *tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Kṛishṇo balādhikaḥ* | *yathā hi Kṛishṇena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Phālgune hate* | *tathā Karṇā-*

tyayībhāve tvayā dhāryam mahad balam | *kimarthaṁ samare sainyaṁ Vāsudevo nyavārayet* (sic) | *kimarthaṁ cha bhavān sainyaṁ na hanishyati Mārisha* | "Thou art a spear (*śalya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, O king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called S'alya.[221] Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sātvatas could not [resist]. But [it is said that] Kṛishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Kṛishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karṇa were slain. Why should Kṛishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" S'alya then answers (1648 ff.) in nearly the same words[222] which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa," etc. This repetition of the same speech of S'alya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As S'alya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karṇa's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of S'alya's willingness to comply with the request of Karṇa and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyaṇa and Nara,[223] who always lived and acted together. A similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connexion will appear from the following passages,[224] in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

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[221] In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words: *S'alya-bhūtas tu śatrūṇāṁ yasmāt tvam yudhi mānada* | *tasmāt S'alyo hi te nāma kathyate prithivī-tale* | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

[222] The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words *agre sainyasya mānada*, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for *madhye sainyasya Kaurava*, "in the midst of the army, O Kaurava."

[223] In the Vāmana-purāṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 455, it is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahmā, that his (Dharma's) wife was Ahiṁsā, and that she bore to him Hari and Kṛishṇa, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa, of whom the two former were devoted to the practice of the Yoga

It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 461 ff.) that Kṛishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of pacifying Kṛishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.) his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),[225] and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya Madhusūdana | ātmanaivātmasāt kṛitvā jagad āsīḥ parantapa | yugādau tava Vārshṇeya nābhi-padmād ajāyata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyedam̃ sakalam̃ jagat | tam̃ hantum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhau | tayor vyatikramam̃ dṛishṭvā kruddhasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭāj jātavān S'ambhuḥ śūlapāṇis trilochanaḥ | ittham̃ tāv api deveśau tvach-chharīra-samudbhavau | tvan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārado 'bravīt | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā kratubhir bhūri-dakshiṇaiḥ | ishṭavām̃s tvam mahāsatram̃ Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛitāni vā | yāni karmāṇi deva tvam bālaḥ eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavān Puṇḍarīkāksha Baladeva-sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasaḥ saha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | evam uktvā mahātmānam ātmā Kṛishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ | tūshṇīm āsīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārdanaḥ | mamaiva tvam̃ tavaivāham̃ ye madīyās tavaiva te | yas tvām̃ dveshṭi sa mām̃ dveshṭi yas tvām anu sa mām anu | Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | ananyaḥ Pārtha mattas tvam̃ tvattaś chāham̃ tathaiva cha | nāvayor antaram śakyam̃ veditum Bharatarshabha |

"'At the end of the mundane period (*yuga*), thou, O Madhusūdana,

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(*Hṛidbhavo Brahmaṇo yo 'sau Dharmo divyavapuḥ sadā | tasya bhāryā tv Ahim̃sā tu tasyām ajanayat sutau | Harim̃ Kṛishṇam̃ cha devarshe Nara-Nārāyaṇau tathā | yogābhyāsa-ratau nityam̃ Hari-Kṛishṇau babhūvatuḥ*).

[224] See also the extract from the Droṇa-parvan, translated above, p. 185.

[225] See above, p. 136.

vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the yuga, O Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things movable and immovable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced S'ambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from thy (Kṛishṇa's) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Kṛishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puṇḍarīkāksha, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmans in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Kṛishṇa, became silent. Then Janārdana (Kṛishṇa) thus addressed the son of Pṛithā: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine;[226] those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (*lit.* follows, or favours) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyaṇa: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Thou, son of Pṛithā, are not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.'"

Again, it is related in the Vana-parvan that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a

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[226] The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz. those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.

Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (*na hy esho mṛigayā-dharmo yas tvayā 'dya kṛito mayi*), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevam̃ Giriśam̃ śūlapāṉinam | dadarśa Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahīm̃ gatvā śirasā praṉipatya cha | prasādayāmāsa Haram Pārthaḥ para-puranjayaḥ | Arjunaḥ uvācha | "Kapardin sarvadeveśa Bhaga-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-grīva jaṭā-dhara | kāraṉānāncha paramam̃ jāne tvām̃ Tryambakam̃ vibhum | devānāncha gatim̃ deva tvat-prasūtam idam̃ jagat | ajeyas tvam tribhir lokaiḥ sa-devāsura-mānushaiḥ | S'ivāya Vishṉu-rūpāya Vishṉave S'iva-rūpiṉe | Dakshayajna-vināśāya Hari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭākshāya S'arvāya mīḷhushe śūlā-pāṉaye | pināka-goptre sūryāya mārjālīyāya vedhase | prasādaye tvām bhagavan sarva-bhūta-maheśvara | gaṉeśam̃ jagataḥ śambhum̃ loka-kāraṉa-kāraṉam | pradhāna-purushātītam param̃ sūkshmataram Haram |*

"Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Pṛithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: 'God with the spirally-braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga's eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the mighty, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras, and men. Adoration be to Siva in the form of Vishṉu, to Vishṉu in the form of S'iva, to the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to S'arva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the Mārjalīya,[227] the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (*i.e.* ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtile, Hara.' "

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—*Devadevaḥ uvacha* | *Naras tvam pūrva-dehe vai Nārāyaṉa-sahāyavān* | *Badaryām̃ taptavān ugram̃ tapo varshāyutān bahūn* | *tvayi vā pāramam̃ tejo Vishṉau vā purushottame* | *yuvābhyām purushāgryābhyām̃ tejasā dhāryate jagat* | *S'akrābhisheke sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam* | *pragṛihya dānavāḥ śāstās tvayā Kṛishṉena cha prabho ityādi* | "Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṉa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṉu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of S'akra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastized by thee and Kṛishṉa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds."

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643), which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīshma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmaham | *parivārya cha viśveśam paryāsata divaukasaḥ* | *teshām manaś cha tejaśchāpy ādadānāv ivaujasā* | *pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṉāv ṛishī* | *Vṛihaspatis*

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[227] This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as a spot to the right of the altar, where the sacrificial vessels are cleansed. It is mentioned in Sāyaṉa's commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4: and (as Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me) it occurs in the Vāj. Sanh. v. 32, where the commentator defines it as the place where the (sacrificial) vessels are washed (*mārjalīyaḥ* | *tatra hi pātrāṉi prakshālyānte*).

tu paprachha Brahmāṉaṁ kāv imāv iti | bhavantaṁ nopatishṭhete tau naḥ śaṁsa Pitāmaha | Brahmā uvācha | yāv etau pṛithivīṁ dyāñcha bhāsayantau tapasvinau | jvalantau rochamanau cha vyāpyāsītau (-nau?) mahābalau | Nara-Nārāyaṉāv etau lokāl lokaṁ samāsthitau | ūrjitau svena tapasā mahāsattva-parākramau | etau hi karmaṉā lokaṁ nandayāmāsatur dhruvam | dvidhā-bhūtau mahā-prajnau viddhi brahman parantapau | asurāṉāṁ vināśāya deva-gandharva-pūjitau | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | jagāma S'akras tach chhrutvā yatra tau tepatas tapaḥ | sārdhaṁ deva-gaṉaiḥ sarvair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ | tadā devāsure yuddhe bhaye jāte divaukasām | ayāchata mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṉau varam | tāv abrutāṁ vṛiṉīshveti tadā Bharata-sattama | athaitāv abravīch chhakraḥ sahyaṁ naḥ kriyatām iti | tatas tau S'akram abrūtāṁ karishyāvo yad ichhasi | tābhyāñcha sahitaḥ S'akro vijigye daitya-dānavān | Naraḥ Indrasya sangrāme hatvā śatrūn parantapaḥ | Paulomān Kālakanjāṁścha sahasrāṉi śatāni cha | esha bhrānte rathe tishṭhan bhallenāpāharach chhiraḥ | Jambhasya grasamāṉasya tadā hy Arjunam āhave | esha pāre samudrasya Hiraṉyapuram ārujat | jitvā shashṭiṁ sahasrāṉi Nivātakavachān raṉe | esha devān sahendreṉa jitvā para-puranjayaḥ | atarpayad mahābāhur Arjuno Jātavedasam | Nārāyaṉas tathaivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha | evam etau mahā-vīryau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudevārjunau vīrau samavetau mahārathāu | Nara-Nārāyaṉau devau pūrva-devāv iti śrutiḥ | ajeyau mānushe loke sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | esha Nārāyaṉaḥ Kṛishṉaḥ Phālgunaś cha Naraḥ smṛitaḥ | Nārāyaṉo Naraś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhā-kṛitam | etau hi karmaṉā lokān aśnuvāte 'kshayān dhruvān | tatra tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kāle punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt karmaiva kartavyam iti hovācha Nāradaḥ | etad hi sarvam āchashṭa Vṛishṉi-chakrasya veda-vit | śankha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā drakshyasi Keśavam | paryādadānaṁ chāstrāṉi bhīma-dhanvānam Arjunam | sanātanau mahātmānau kṛishṉāv eka-rathe sthitau | Duryodhana tadā tāta smartāsi vachanam mama |

"Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and surpassing gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṉa, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vṛihaspati inquired of Brahmā, 'Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.' Brahmā said: 'These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, O Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.' Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vṛihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyaṇa a boon. They replied, 'Choose.' Then Indra said, 'Let us be delivered.' They answered Indra, 'We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,[228] who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiraṇyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyaṇa slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyaṇa is Kṛishṇa, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyaṇa and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two through their works pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born at different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishṇis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Kṛishṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 218.)

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[228] The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parvan (vv. 3459–3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, Paraśurāma told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhâva, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parvan, vv. 419 ff.:

Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo 'py ātmā Kirīṭinaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityaṁ Kṛishṇe kīrtiścha śāśvatī | sarveshv api cha lokeshu Bībhatsur aparājitaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishṭham ameyāḥ Keśave guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhano Kṛishṇaṁ yo na vettīha Keśavam | mohiṭo daiva-yogena mṛityu-pāśa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛishṇaṁ Dāśārham Arjunaṁ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pūrva-devau mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekātmānau dvidhā-bhūtau dṛiśyete mānushair bhuvi | manasā 'pi hi durdharshau senām etāṁ yaśasvinau | nāśayetām ihechhantau mānushatvāch cha nechhataḥ |

"Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kirīṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛishṇa the

Dāśārha, and Arjuna the Pāṉḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṉa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhīshma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṉḍavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Kṛishṉa's protection. To illustrate Kṛishṉa's divine greatness, Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the preservation of the world (2964 f.). Vishṉu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.):

Yat tat param bhavishyancha bhavitā yachha yat param | bhūtātmā yaḥ prabhuś chaiva Brahma yach cha param padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁvādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | " mānushaṁ lokam ātishṭha Vāsudevaḥ iti śrutaḥ | asurāṉām badhārthāya sambhavasva mahītale | sangrāme nihatāḥ yo te daitya-dānava-rākshasāḥ | te ime nṛishu sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpāḥ mahābalāḥ | teshām badhārtnam bhagavān Nareṉa sahito balī | mānushīm yonim āsthāya charishyasi mahī-tale" | Nara-Nārāyaṉau tau tu purāṉāv ṛishi-sattamau | ajeyau hi raṉe yau tau sametair amarair api | sahitau mānushe loke sambhūtāv amita-dyutī | mūḍhās te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṉāv ṛishī | yasyāham ātmajo Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo 'nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā manushyo 'yam iti kadāchit sura-sattamāḥ | nāvajneyo mahāvīryaḥ śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma etāt paramakaṁ yaśaḥ | etad aksharam avyaktam etach chhāśvatam eva cha | etat Purusha-sanjno vai gīyate jnāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ tejaḥ etat paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaṁ kīrtitaṁ Viśvakarmaṉā | tasmāt surāsuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendraiś chāmita-vikramaḥ | navajneyo Vāsudevo mānusho 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānusha-mātro 'yam iti brūyāt sa manda-dhīḥ | Hṛishīkeśam avajnānāt tam āhuḥ purushādhamam | taṁ yoginam mahātmānam pravishṭam mānushīṁ tanum | yo 'vamanyed Vāsudevaṁ tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmā-

nam̃ śrīvatsānkam̃ suvarchasam | padma-nābham̃ na jānāti tam āhus tāmasam̃ janāḥ | kirīṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrāṉām abhayankaram | avajānan mahātmānam̃ ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārito 'si purā tāta munibhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | mā gachha sam̃yugam̃ tena Vāsudevena dhanvinā | Pāṉḍavaiḥ sārdham iti yat tat tvam mohād na budhyase | manye tvām̃ Rākshasam̃ krūram̃ tathā chāsi tamo-vṛitaḥ | tasmād dvishasi Govindam Pāṉḍavancha Dhananjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṉav devau ko 'nyo dvishyād hi mānavaḥ |

"That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall continue to be supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, O eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to show favour to the world: 'Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.' Those ancient and most excellent of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṉa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṉa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, O most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hṛishīkeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person a man full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness."[229]

Bhīshma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3302): "Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: 'Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.' Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rākshasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Kṛishṇa) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?"

The next passage is from the S'ānti-parvan, where Kṛishṇa, after describing many of his own other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

Purā 'ham ātmajaḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntare | Dharmasya Kuru-śārdūla tato 'haṁ Dharmajaḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvaṁ tapas tepatur avyayam | dharma-yānaṁ samārūḍhau parvate Gandhamādane | tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Daksha-yajno babhūva ha | na chaivākalpayad bhāgaṁ Daksho Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchi-vachanād Daksha-yajnam apāharat | sasarja śūlaṁ kopena prajvalantam muhur muhuḥ | tach chhūlam bhasmasāt kṛitvā Daksha-yajnaṁ sa-vistaram | āvayoḥ sahasā 'gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nārāyaṇorasi | tatas tat-tejasā 'vishṭāḥ keśāḥ Nārāyaṇasya ha | babhūvur munjavarṇās tu tato 'ham munja-keśavān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirdhūtaṁ huṁkāreṇa mahātmanā | jagāma S'ankara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-samāhatam | atha Rudraḥ upādhāvat tāv ṛishī tapasā 'nvitau | tataḥ enaṁ samudhbūtaṁ kaṇṭhe jagrāha pāṇinā | Nārāyaṇaḥ sa viśvātmā tenāsya śiti-kaṇṭhatā | atha Rudra-vighātārtham ishīkāṁ Naraḥ uddharat | mantraiś cha saṁyuyojāśu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | kshiptaś cha sahasā tena khaṇḍanam prāptavāṁs tadā | tato 'haṁ ['yaṁ?] Khaṇḍa-paraśuḥ smṛitaḥ paraśukhaṇḍanāt | . . . . 13278. tayoḥ saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyaṇātmanoḥ | udvignāḥ sahasā kṛitsnāḥ sarva-lokās tadā 'bhavan | nāgṛihṇāt Pāvakaḥ śubhram makheshu suhutaṁ haviḥ |

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[229] This passage seems to have a polemical aspect, as if aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Kṛishṇa.

vedāḥ na pratibhānti sma ṛishīṉām bhāvitātmanām | devān rajas tamaś chaiva samāviviśitus tadā | vasudhā sanchakampe cha nabhaś cha vipaphāla ha | nishprabhāṉi cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chaivāsana-chyutaḥ | agāchchhosham samudraś cha Himavāṁś cha vyaśīryata | tasminn eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṉḍunandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-gaṉair ṛishibhiś cha mahātmabhiḥ | ājagāmāśubhaṁ deśaṁ yatra yuddham avartata | so 'njali-pragraho bhūtvā chatur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanaṁ Rudraṁ "lokānām astu vai śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hita-kāmyayā | yad aksharam athāvyaktam īśaṁ lokasya bhāvanam | kūṭasthaṁ kartṛi nirdvandvam akarteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gatasyāsya ekā mūrtir iyaṁ śubhā | Naro Nārāyaṉaś chaiva jātau Dharma-kulodvahau | tapasā mahatā yuktau deva-śreshṭhau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kāraṉāntare | tvaṁ chaiva krodha-jas tāta pūrva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā cha sārdhaṁ varadaṁ vibudhaiś cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānāṁ śāntir bhavatu mā chiram" | Brahmaṉā tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodhāgnim utsṛijan | prasādayāmāsa tato devaṁ Nārāyaṉam prabhum | śaraṉyaṁ cha jagāmādyaṁ vareṉyaṁ varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodho jitendriyaḥ | prītimān abhavat tatra Rudreṉa saha sangataḥ | ṛishibhir Brahmaṉā chaiva vibudhaiś cha supūjitaḥ | uvācha devam Īśānam īśaḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yas tvām anu sa mām anu | nāvayor antaraṁ kiṅchid mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti śrīvatsaḥ śūlānko me bhavatv ayam | mama pāṉy-ankitaś chāpi śrīkaṉṭhas tvam bhavishyasi" | evaṁ lakshaṉam utpādya paraspara-kṛitaṁ tadā | sakhyaṁ chaivātulaṁ kṛitvā Rudreṉa sahitāv ṛishī | tapas tepatur avyagrau visṛijya tridivaukasaḥ | esha te kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṉa-jayo mṛidhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruktāni cha Bhārata | ṛishibhiḥ kathitānīha yāni sankīrtitāni te | evam bahu-vidhaiḥ rūpaiś charāmīha vasundharām | Brahma-lokancha Kaunteya golokancha sanātanam | mayā tvaṁ rakshito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān jayam | yas tu te so 'grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | taṁ viddhi Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devam kapardinam | kālaḥ sa eva kathitaḥ krodhajeti mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvaṁ hatavān asi yān ripūn | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam prayato viśveśam Haram akshayam | ityādi |

13265. "Formerly, son of Pṛithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyaṇa, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Daksha took place. Daksha did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhīchi, swept away the sacrifice of Daksha, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daksha with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyaṇa. The hair of Nārāyaṇa, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (*munja*): from which I am called Munjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of S'ankara, when struck by Nārāyaṇa. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva's) name of S'itikaṇṭha. Nara next raised a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khaṇḍana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu." Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict;[230] when Kṛishṇa proceeds: 13278. "When Rudra and Nārāyaṇa had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahmā fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries, with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, unaffected by pleasure or pain, and not the doer,—[this I say is one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyaṇa, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his good pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,[231] an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* favours) thee loves me.[232] There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkaṇṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Pṛithā, which I have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyaṇa in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra, the god of gods, with spirally-braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

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[230] See above, pp. 176 f.

Again, in the S'ānti-parvan, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from S'veta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyaṇa (v. 13337):

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[231] See verses 13140 and 13145 of the S'anti-parvan, quoted below.

[232] A similar expression has already occurred above, p. 230.

Nipapāta cha khāt tūrṉaṁ viśālāṁ Vadarīm anu | tataḥ sa dadṛiśe devau purāṉāv ṛishi-sattamau | tapaś charantau sumahad ātma-nishṭhau mahā-vratau | tejasā 'bhyadhikau sūryāt sarva-loka-virochanāt | śrīvatsa-lakshaṉau pūjyau jaṭā-maṉḏala-dhāriṉau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pādayos chakra-lakshaṉau | vyūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā mushka-chatushkinau | shasṭi-dantāv ashṭa-daṁshṭrau meghaugha-sadṛiśa-svanau | svāsyau pṛithulalāṭau cha subhrū su-hanu-nāsikau | ātapatreṉa sadṛiśe śirasī devayos tayoḥ | evaṁ-lakshaṉa-sampannau mahā-purusha-sanjnitau | tau dṛishṭvā Nārado hṛishṭas tābhyaṁ cha pratipūjitaḥ | svāgatenābhibhāshyātha pṛishṭaś chānāmayaṁ tathā | babhūvāntargata-matir nirīkshya purushottamau |

"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth, and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing; and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the S'veta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṉa next ask him if he had seen in the S'veta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*āvayoḥ prakṛitiḥ parā*). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanau | yair lakshaṉair upetaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair lakshaṉair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvām | dṛishṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ*). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṉa.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 621 f., and note, p. 622; 2nd ed., pp. 768 ff.[233]) Kṛishṉa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To show how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pāṉḏus, aided as the latter were by Kṛishṉa, Dhṛitarashṯra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

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[233] His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Kṛishṉa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand, victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text) he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherds' wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the gopas of Nārāyaṉa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Droṉa-parvan, vv. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṉas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kāmbojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karṉa, etc. (*Nārāyaṉaś cha gopālāḥ Kāmbojānāncha ye gaṉāḥ | Karṉena vijitāḥ |*)

The Nārāyaṉas are also mentioned in the Droṉap. 752 and 759 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.*).

Kṛishṉa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice: Udyoga-parvan, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-sam̃hanana-tulyānām̃* gopānām arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṉāḥ iti khyātāḥ sarve sangrāma-yodhinaḥ | te vā yudhi durādharshāḥ bhavantv ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānaḥ sangrāme nyastaśastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyām anyataram Pārtha yat te hṛidyataram matam | tad vṛiṉītām bhavān agre pravāryas tvam̃ hi dharmataḥ |* "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṉas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men; or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Pṛithā, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Kṛishṉa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṉa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (*Nārāyaṉam amitraghnam̃ kāmāj jātam ajam̃ nṛishu*), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

* The word *sam̃hanana* occurs also in the Droṉa-parvan, v. 147.

Droṉa-parvan, 382.—*Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | śṛiṉu divyāni karmāṉi Vāsudevasya Sanjaya | kṛitavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyaḥ pumān kvachit | sam̃vardhatā gopa-kule bālenaiva mahātmanā | vikhyāpitam̃ balam bāhvos trishu lokeshu Sanjaya | Uchchhaiḥśravas-tulya-balam̃ vāyu-vega-samam̃ jave | jaghāna Haya-rājānam̃ Yamunā-vana-vāsinam | Dānavam̃ ghora-karmāṉam̃ gavām mṛityum ivotthitam | vṛisha-rūpa-dharam bālye bhujābhyām̃ nijaghāna ha | Pralambham̃ Narakam̃ Jambham̃ Pīṭham̃ vā 'pi mahāsuram | Muram̃ chāmara-sankāśam abadhīt pushkarekshaṉaḥ | tathā Kam̃so mahātejāḥ Jarāsandhena pālitaḥ | vikrameṉaiva Kṛishṉena sagaṉaḥ pātito raṉe | Sunāmā raṉa-vikrāntaḥ samagrākshauhiṉī-patiḥ | Bhoja-rājasya madhya-stho bhrātā Kam̃sasya vīryavān | Baladeva-dvitīyena Kṛishṉenāmitra-ghātinā | tarasvī samare daghdaḥ sasainyaḥ S'ūrasena-rāṭ | Durvāsāḥ nāma viprarshis tathā parama-kopanaḥ | ārādhitaḥ sadāreṉa sa chāsmai pradadau varān | tathā Gāndhāra-rājasya sutām̃ vīraḥ svayam̃vare | nirjitya pṛithivī-pālān āvahat pushkarekshaṉaḥ | amṛishyamāṉāḥ rājāno yasya jātyāḥ hayāḥ iva | rathe vaivāhike yuktāḥ pratodena kṛita-vraṉāḥ | Jarāsandham mahābāhum upāyena Janārdanaḥ | pareṉa ghātayāmāsa samagrākshauhiṉī-patim | Chedi-rajāncha vikrāntam̃ rāja-senā-patim balī | arghe vivadamānancha jaghāna paśu-vat tadā | Saubham̃ daitya-puram̃ svastham̃ S'ālva-guptam̃ durāsadam | samudra-kukshau vikramya pātayāmāsa Mādhavaḥ |* . . . . .
v. 400: *Praviśya makarāvāsam̃ yādobhir abhisam̃vṛitam | jigāya Varuṉam̃ sankhye salilāntargatam purā | yudhi Panchajanam̃ hatvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam | pānchajanyam̃ Hṛishīkeśo divyām̃ śankham avāptavān | Khāṉḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | āgneyam astram̃ durdharsham̃ chakram̃ lebhe mahābalaḥ | Vainateyam̃ samāruhya trāsayitvā 'marāvatīm | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraḥ pārijātam upānayat | tachcha marshitavān S'akro jānam̃s tasya parākramam | rājnām̃ chāpy ajitam̃ kanchit Kṛishṉeneha na śuśruma | yachcha tad mahad āścharyam̃ sabhāyām mama Sanjaya | kṛitavān Puṉḍarīkākshaḥ kas tad-anya ihārhati | labdha-bhaktyā prasanno 'ham adrāksham̃ Kṛishṉam īśvaram | tad me suviditam̃ sarvam pratyaksham iva chāgamam | nāntam̃ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyā yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmaṉā śakyate gantum̃ Hṛishīkeśasya Sanjaya | tathā Gadaś cha S'ambaścha Pradyumno 'tha Vidūrathaḥ |* . . . . .
410: *Ete 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛishṉi-vīrāḥ prahāriṉaḥ | kathanchit Pāṉḍavānīkam̃ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhūtāḥ Vṛishṉi-vīreṉa Keśavena mahātmānā | tataḥ sam̃śayitam̃ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-*

balo vīraḥ Kailāsa-śikharopamaḥ | *vana-mālī halī Rāmas tatra yatra Janārdanaḥ* | *yam āhuḥ sarva-pitaram̃ Vāsudevam̃ dvijātayaḥ* | *api vā hy esha Pāṉḍūnām̃ yotsyate 'rthāya Sanjaya* | *sa yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṉḍavārthāya Sanjaya* | *na tadā pratisam̃yoddhā bhavitā tasya kaśchana* | *yadi sma Kuravaḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṉḍavān* | *Vārshṉeyo 'rthāya teshām̃ vai gṛihṉīyāt śastram uttamam* | *tataḥ sarvān naravyāghro hatvā narapatīn raṉe* | *Kauravām̃ś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinīm* | *yasya yantā Hṛishīkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayaḥ* | *rathasya tasya kaḥ sankhye pratyanīko bhaved rathaḥ* | *na kenachid upāyena Kurūṉām̃ driśyate jayaḥ* | *tasmād me sarvam āchakshva yathā yuddham avartata* | [234]

"Dhṛitarāshṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛishṉa, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Ucchaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Pīṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarāsandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Kṛishṉa, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Śūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Kṛishṉa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhman rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Kṛishṉa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.[235] So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gāndhāras at the Swayamvara:[236] and the princes, being unable to endure him, were yoked like highbred horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.[237] This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 215), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Kṛishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by Kṛishṇa.] . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pānchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha (the son of Pṛithā, Arjuna), propitiated Agni in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.[238] Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvatī (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.[239] And to this S'akra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Kṛishṇa. Then who but Puṇḍarīkāksha could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Kṛishṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the limit of Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and S'āmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vṛishṇi tribe, summoned by the great Vṛishṇi-hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pāṇḍavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for the Pāṉḍavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pāṉḍavas, Vārshṉeya (Kṛishṉa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and tiger-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kuntī. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishīkeśa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

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[234] Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: *Pakvānām̃ hi badhe Sūta vajrāyante tṛiṉāny api* | "When men are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts."

[235] See the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 196.

[236] Lassen, Ind. Alt. i., 622, first edition (p. 769, second edition), note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gāndhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the second volume of this work, p. 353.

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[237] See the story as told in the Sabhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.

[238] Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.

[239] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 585 ff. (vol. v., pp. 97 ff., of Dr. Hall's ed.).

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 235, *Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Kṛishṉa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parvan. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāṉḍus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Kṛishṉa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Kṛishṉa (vv. 1875 ff.):

Pūrvāhṉe mām̃ kṛita-japyam̃ kadāchid vipraḥ provāchodakānte manojnam | kartavyam̃ te dushkaram̃ karma Pārtha yodhavyam̃ te śatrubhiḥ Savyasāchin | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastaḥ purastād-yātu samare 'rīn vinighnan | Sugrīva-yuktena rathena vā te paśchāt Kṛishṉo rakshatu Vāsudevaḥ | vavre chāham̃ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevam̃ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṉo manye chaitad vihitam̃ daivatair me | sa bāhubhyām̃ sāgaram uttitīrshed mahodadhim̃ salilasyāprameyam | tejasvinam̃ Kṛishṉam atyanta-śūram̃ yuddhena yo Vāsudevam̃ jigīshet | girim̃ sa ichhet tu talena bhettum̃ śilochayam̃ śvetam atipramāṉam | tasyaiva pāṉiḥ sa-nakho viśīryed na chāpi kinchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agnim̃ samiddham̃ śamayed bhujābhyām̃ chandrancha sūryancha nivārayeta | hared devānām amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāśudevam̃ jigīshet | yo Rukmiṉīm eka-rathena Bhojān utsādya rājnaḥ samare prasahya | uvāha bhāryām̃ yaśasā jvalantīm̃ yasyām̃ jajne Raukmiṉeyo mahātmā | ayam̃ Gāndhārām̃s tarasā sampramathya jitvā putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrān | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanam̃ vai devatānām̃ lalāmam | ayam̃ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṉḍyam̃ tathā

Kalingān Dantakūre mamarda | anena dagdhā varsha-pūgān anāthā Vārāṉasī nagarī sambabhūva | ayam̃ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyam̃ tam Ekalavyam̃ nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhaḥ śete sa Kṛishṉena hataḥ parāsuḥ | tathograsenasya sutam̃ sudushṭam Vṛishṉy-Andhakānām madhya-gatam̃ sabhā-stham | apātayad Baladeva-dvitīyo hatvā dadau chograsenāya rājyam | ayam̃ Saubham̃ yodhayāmāsa svastham vibhīshaṉam māyayā S'ālva-rājam | Saubha-dvāri pratya-gṛihṉāt śataghnīm̃ dorbhyām̃ kaḥ enam̃ visaheta martyaḥ | Prāgjyotisham̃ nāma babhūva durgam puram̃ ghoram Asurāṉām asahyam | mahābalo Narakas tatra Bhaumo jahārādityāḥ maṉi-kuṉḍale śubhe | na tam̃ devāḥ saha S'akreṉa śekuḥ samāgatāḥ yudhi mṛityor abhītāḥ | dṛishṭvā cha tam̃ vikramam̃ Keśavasya balam̃ tathaivāstram avāraṉīyam | jānanto 'sya prakṛitim̃ Keśavasya nyayojayan dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṉam | sa tat karma pratiśuśrāva dushkaram aiśvaryavān siddhishu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochane shaṭ sahasrāṉi hatvā sanchhidya pāśān sahasā kshurāntān | Muram̃ hatvā vinihatyaugha-raksho nirmochanam̃ chāpi jagāma vīraḥ | tatraiva tenāsya babhūva yuddham mahābalenātibalasya Vishṉoḥ | śete sa Kṛishṉena hataḥ parāsur vāteneva mathitaḥ karṉikāraḥ | āhṛitya Kṛishṉo maṉi-kuṉḍale te hatvā cha Bhaumam̃ Narakam Murancha | śriyā vṛito yaśasā chaiva vidvān pratyājagāmāpratima-prabhāvaḥ | asmai varān adadam̃s tatra devāḥ dṛishṭvā bhīmam̃ karma kṛitam̃ raṉe tat | "śramaś cha te yudhyamānasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramaḥ syāt | śastrāṉi gātre na cha te kramerann" ity eva Kṛishṉaś cha tataḥ kṛitārthaḥ | evam̃-rūpe Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṉa-sampat sadaiva | tam asa-hyam̃ Vishṉum ananta-vīryam āśam̃śate Dhārtarāshṭro vijetum |

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words: 'Son of Pṛithā, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, O Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛishṉa, the son of Vasudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Kṛishṉa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?' I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kṛishṉa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kṛishṇa. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukmiṇeya was born. He (Kṛishṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.[240] He slew Pāṇḍya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares, which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He regarded Ekalavya the king of the Nishādas as invincible by others in battle, [but slew him], having smitten him furiously with a rock. Jambha sleeps, bereft of life by Kṛishṇa.[241] Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Vṛishṇis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Sālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon Śataghnī:[242] what mortal can assail him? There was an impregnable, formidable, and unassailable castle of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotisha. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.[243] The assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Kṛishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryavān siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the city Nirmochana slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,[244] having slain Mura and the Rākshasa Ogha, he proceeded to Nirmochana.[245] There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Kṛishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a karnikāra[246] tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Kṛishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee, when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Kṛishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is always an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarāshṭra hopes to overcome."

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[240] One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānām lalāmam* by *devatānām madhye praśastam*, "approved among the gods." Another commentator says *lalāmam = śiromaṇim*, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādhara also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Kṛishṇa's foot.

[241] The construction and sense of this verse are not very clear.

[242] A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See also Williams's Sanskrit English Dictionary, *s.v.*, and the end of note 189, page 191, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying (*kāmaga*) city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parvan. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Kṛishṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883), and kills the king of the Śālvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615, first ed., p. 761, second ed.

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[243] The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff., or vol. v., pp. 87 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.

[244] These nooses are also mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation, as in the last note) and in the Harivaṁśa, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii., p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Vāruṇa-pāśa*. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet *kshurānta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Kṛishṇa's discus.

[245] See verse 4407 of this same parvan; *Nirmochane shaṭsahasrāḥ pāśair baddhāḥ mahāsurāḥ* | This line evidently contains an allusion to the same story as is referred to in the text; and from a comparison of both passages I infer that Nirmochana is the name of a place. Böhtlingk and Roth *s v.* do not recognize this signification.

[246] Pterospermum acerifolium,

It will be noticed that Kṛishṉa is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not consistently have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parvan describes Kṛishṉa as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Kṛishṉa, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit the Pāṉḍavas in the forest; and as he showed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related (needlessly, one would think, if he was regarded as the Supreme Deity) his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjunaḥ uvācha | Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṉi yatra Sāyangṛiho muniḥ | vyacharas tvam purā Kṛishṉa parvate Gandhamādane | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṉi daśa-varsha-śatāni cha | pushkareshv avasaḥ Kṛishṉa tvam apo bhakshayan purā | ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyām Vadaryam Madhusūdana | atishṭhaḥ eka-pādena vāyu-bhakshaḥ śatam samāḥ | avakṛishṭottarāsangaḥ kṛiśo dhamani-santataḥ | āsīḥ Kṛishṉa Sarasvatyām satre dvādaśa-vārshike | Prabhāsam apy athāsādya tīrtham puṉya-janochitam | tathā Kṛishṉa mahātejāḥ divyam varsha-sahasrikam* (sic) | *atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena niyama-sthitaḥ | loka-pravṛitti-hetos tvam iti Vyāso mamābravīt | kshetra-jnaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ādir antaś cha Keśava | nidhānam tapasām Kṛishṉa yajnas tvam cha sanātanaḥ | nihatya Narakam Bhaumam āhṛitya maṉi-kuṉḍale | prathamotpāditam Kṛishṉa medhyam aśvam avāsṛijah | kṛitvā tat karma lokānām ṛishabhaḥ sarva-loka-jit | abadhīs tvām raṉe sarvān sametān daitya-dānavān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvam cha sampradāya S'achī-pateḥ | mānusheshu mahābāho prādurbhūto'si Keśava | sa tvam Nārāyaṉo bhūtvā Harir āsīḥ parantapa | Brahmā Somaś cha Sūryaś cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nalaḥ | Vāyur Vaiśravaṉo Rudraḥ kālaḥ kham pṛithivī diśaḥ | ajaś charāchara-guruḥ srashṭā tvam purushottama | parāyaṉam devam ūrdhvam kratubhir Madhusūdana | ayajo bhūri-tejāḥ vai Kṛishṉa Chaitrarathe vane | śatam śata-sahasrāṉi suvarṉasya Janārdana | ekaikasmims tadā yajne paripūrṉāni bhāgasaḥ | . . . . Sāditāḥ Mauravāḥ pāśāḥ Nisunda-Narakau hatau | kṛitaḥ kshemaḥ punaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāg-jyotisham prati | Jārūthyām Āhvṛitiḥ Krāthaḥ S'iśupālo janaiḥ saha | Jarāsandhaś cha S'aivyaś cha S'atadhanvā cha nirjitaḥ | tathā Parjanya-*

ghosheṉa rathenāditya-varchasā | avāpsīr mahishīm bhojyām̃ raṉe nirjitya Rukmiṉam | Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumān | hataḥ Saubha-patiḥ S'ālvas tvayā Saubham̃ cha pātitam | Irāvatyām̃ hato Bhojaḥ Kārtavīrya-samo yudhi | Gopatis Tālaketuś cha tvayā vinihatāv ubhau | tām̃ cha Bhogavatīm puṉyām Ṛishikām̃ tām̃ Janārdana | Drārakām ātmasāt kṛitvā samudram̃ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha mātsaryam̃ nānṛitam Madhusūdana | tvayi tishṭhati Dāśārha na nṛiśam̃syam̃ kuto 'nṛijuḥ | āsīnam̃ chaitya-madhye tvām̃ dīpyamānam̃ sva-tejasā | āgamya rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantābhayam Achyuta |

Vana-parvan, 471. "Formerly, Kṛishṉa, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādan, where' the muni Sāyangṛiha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest glorious, Kṛishṉa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, O great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyaṉa, wert Hari, O vexer of thy foes. Thou, O Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhātṛi, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Kṛishṉa, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 136, beginning *Aditer api putratvam*, and ending *nihatāḥ śataśo 'surāḥ*]. The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and

Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvṛiti, Krātha, Śiśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Śaivya and Śatadhanvan[247] were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 215.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Sālva, the lord of Saubha; and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārtavīrya[248] in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvatī, as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Ṛishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśārha (Kṛishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the Chaitya (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thy own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 229, beginning *Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya*, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Kṛishṇa is generally identified with Vishṇu, and Vishṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Kṛishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Śuka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Vishṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrāṁśenāvatīrṇasya Vishṇor vīryāṇi śaṁsa naḥ | avatīrya Yador vaṁśe bhagavān bhūta-bhāvanaḥ | kṛitavān yāni viśvātmā tāni no vada vistarāt*). Śuka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Vishṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

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[247] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 428 ff. (vol. iv. pp. 80 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.)

[248] See the first volume of this work, pp. 450 ff.

Bhāgavata Purān̲a, x. i. 21 ff.—*Giraṁ samādhau gagane samīritāṁ niśamya Vedhās tridaśān uvācha ha | gām paurushīm me śṛin̲utāmarāḥ punar vidhīyatām āśu tathaiva māchiram | puraiva puṁsā* (*Īśvaren̲a*, Comm.) *'vadhṛito dharā-jvaro bhavadbhir aṁśair Yadushūpajanyatām | sa yāvad urvyāḥ bharam īśvareśvaraḥ sva-kāla-śaktyā kshapayaṁś chared bhuvi | Vasudeva-gṛihe sākshād bhagavān Purushaḥ paraḥ | janishyate tat-priyārthaṁ sambhavantu sura-striyaḥ | Vāsudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sahasra-vadanaḥ svarāṭ | agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chikīrshayā | Vishn̲or māyā bhagavatī yayā sammohitaṁ jagat | ādishṭā prabhun̲ā 'ṁśena kāryārthe sambhavishyati |*

"Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: 'Hear from me, immortals, the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person (*sākshāt*) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vāsudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishn̲u, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects."

In the Vishn̲u Purān̲a, also, the incarnation of Vishn̲u is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur:

Nṛipānāṁ kathitaḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistaraḥ | Vaṁśānucharitaṁ chaiva yathāvad anuvarn̲itam | Aṁśāvatāro brahmarshe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-kulodbhavaḥ | Vishn̲os taṁ vistaren̲āhaṁ śrotum ichchhāmy aśeshataḥ | Chakāra yāni karmān̲i bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśenāvatīryor-vyāṁ tatra tāni mune vada | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | Maitreya śrūyatām etad yat pṛishṭo 'ham iha tvayā | Vishn̲or aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitaṁ jagato hitam |

"You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vishn̲u which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion of a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies: 'Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṉu.'"

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṉu Purāṉa, pp. 493–497; pp. 249 ff. of the 4th vol. of Dr. Hall's ed.) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons also had been born as princes; so that she had to bear upon her surface many hosts of strong and haughty Daitya chiefs wearing celestial forms; and that she could not support the load. (V.P. v. 1. 12. *Etasminn eva kāle tu bhūri-bhārāvapīḍitā | jagāma dharaṉī Merau samāje tridivaukasām* | . . . . . . 25 | *akshauhiṉyo hi bahulāḥ divya-mūrti-dḥritām̃ surāḥ* | *mahābalānām̃ dṛiptānām̃ daityendrāṉām mamopari* | *tad-bhūri-bhāra-pīḍārtā na śaknomy amareśvarāḥ* | *vibhartum ātmanā "tmānam iti vijnāpayāmi vaḥ* | *kriyatām̃ tat mahābhāgāḥ mama bhārāvatāraṉam* | *yathā rasātalam̃ nāham̃ gachheyam ativihvalā*).[249] Brahmā proposed that they should

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[249] The Greek writers, too, speak of the earth being burthened, but from a different cause, viz. with the load of men, and that Jupiter brought about the Trojan war for her relief. In the Helena of Euripides, vv. 38 ff., it is said: Πόλεμον γὰρ ἐισήνεγκεν Ἑλλήνων· χθονὶ Καὶ Φρυξὶ δυστήνοισιν, ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν Πλήθους τε κουφίσειε μητέρα χθόνα, Γνωτόν τε θείη τὸν κράτιστον Ἑλλάδος. "For he brought on a war between the land of the Greeks and the unhappy Phrygians, that he might relieve mother Earth of the crowd and multitude of mortals, and make known the bravest man in Greece."

Similarly in the Orestes of the same author, vv. 1639 ff., it is said: Ἐπεὶ θεοὶ τῷ τῆσδε καλλιστεύματι Ἕλληνας εἰς ἓν καὶ Φρύγας συνήγαγον, θανάτους τ᾽ ἔθηκαν, ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν χθονὸς Ὕβρισμα θνητῶν ἀφθόνου πληρώματος. "Since the gods by means of her beauty brought the Greeks and Phrygians into conflict, and occasioned deaths, in order that they might remove from the Earth the grievance of being superabundantly replenished with mortals."

And in the Scholia Minora on the Iliad, i. 5 (quoted in Heyne's Homer, Oxford, 1821), we read: Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τινὸς ἔιπον εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον· φασὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν βαρουμένην ῾υπὸ ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθείας, μηδεμιᾶς ἀνθρώπων οὔσης εὐσεβείας, αἰτῆσαι τὸν Δία κουφισθῆναι τοῦ ἄχθους. Τὸν δὲ Δία, πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ποιῆσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον, δι᾽ οὗ πολλοὺς πάνυ ἀπωλέσεν. ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν συμβούλῳ τῷ Μώμῳ ἐχρήσατο, ἣν Διὸς βουλὴν Ὅμηρός φησιν. ἐπειδὴ οἷός τε ἦν κεραυνοῖς ἢ κατακλυσμοῖς πάντας διαφθεῖραι, τοῦτο τοῦ Μώμου κωλύσαντος, ὑποθεμένου δὲ αὐτῷ γνώμας δύο, τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν, καὶ θυγατρὸς καλὴν γένναν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πόλεμος Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, οὕτω συμβῆναι κουφισθῆναι τὴν γῆν, πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Στασίνῳ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι, εἰπόντι οὕτως· Ἦν ὅτε μυρία φῦλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμενα Βαθυστέρνου

resort to Vishṇu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a very small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (v. 32. *sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jaganmayaḥ | svalpāṁśenāvatīryorvyāṁ dharmasya kurute sthitim*). The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishṇu in a long hymn. Vishṇu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

58. *Evaṁ saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ | Ujjahārātmanaḥ keśau sita-kṛishṇau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśāu vasudhā-tale | Avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Surāścha sakalāḥ svāṁśair avatīrya mahītale*[250] | *Kurvantu yuddham unmattaiḥ pūrvotpannair mahāsuraiḥ | Tataḥ kshayam aśeshās te Daiteyāḥ dharaṇītale | Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṇitāḥ | Vasudevasya yā patnī Devakī devatopamā | Tasyāyam ashṭamo garbho*[251] *mat-keśo bhavitā surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyaṁ*[252] *Kaṁsam ghātayitā bhuvi* |

πλάτος αἴης. Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, καὶ ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσι Σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβώτορα γαῖαν, Ῥιπίσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλιάκοιο· Ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρος· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ Ἥρωες κτείνοντο. Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή.

"Others have declared that Homer used the expression (Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή) 'And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled') in consequence of a certain history. For they relate that the Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of men, among whom there was no piety, prayed to Zeus to be relieved of the burthen; and that he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed very many. Afterwards he employed Momus as his counsellor, (an act) which Homer calls 'Zeus's consultation.' When he could have destroyed the whole of mankind by his thunderbolts or by deluges, but was dissuaded from doing so by Momus, who suggested two plans, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal, and the generation of a beautiful daughter, in consequence of which two events a war was occasioned between the Greeks and Barbarians,—it thus came to pass that the Earth was lightened, many being slain. The history is found in Stasinus, who composed the Cypria, and who speaks as follows: 'There was a time when myriads of races wandered over the Earth, on the breadth of the deep-bosomed land. But Zeus, beholding, pitied her, and in his wise mind resolved to relieve the all-nurturing Earth of [the load of] men, by exciting the great strife of the Ilian war, in order that by slaughter he might clear away the burthen: and the heroes were slain in the Troad. And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled.'" See also above, p. 215, note 212; and Droṇap., 2051 f.

[250] Another MS. reads *mahītalam.*

[251] Another MS. reads *esha garbho 'shṭamas tasyāḥ.*

[252] Another MS. reads *tatrāham.*

Kālanemim̃ samudbhūtam ityuktvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adṛiśyāya tatas tasmai praṉipatya mahāmune | Meru-pṛishṭham surāḥ jagmur avateruś cha bhūtale |

"Being thus lauded, the divine Parameśvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who were formerly born. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devakī) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kālanemi who has been born.' Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth."

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishṉu Purāṉa, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also:

"*Chakāra*" *iti | tatra Kṛishṉāvatāre ati-parichhinna-manushyākāra-līlā-vigraheṉāvirbhāvād am̃śām̃śena ity uktam upachārāt | na tu śakti-hrāseṉa Kṛishṉādy-avatāreshv api viśva-rūpa-darśana-sarvaiśvaryādy-ukteḥ | Nanu am̃śino 'm̃śoddhāreṉa śakty-ādi-hrāsas tathā 'm̃śasyāpi tad-apekshya alpa-śaktitvādikam̃ dhānya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāgaḥ iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāśa-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrṉam adaḥ pūrṉam idam pūrṉāt pūrṉam̃ udachyate | pūrṉasya pūrṉam ādāya pūrṉam evāvaśishyate" iti śruteḥ | "param Brahma narākṛiti gūḍham param Brahma manushya-lingam̃ Kṛishṉas tu bhagavān svayam" ityādi vākyebhyaś cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-tale" ity-ādāv "ayam̃ Kam̃sam̃ ghātayitā" ity atra keśa-vyapadeśaḥ sa Brahmaṉaḥ paripūrṉasya bhū-bhāra-haraṉa-rūpam̃ kāryam aty-alpa-yantra-sādhyam iti khyāpayitum̃ na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Kṛishṉatvam̃ vaktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayos tad-dehakshetrajnatvābhāvena tat-kāryam̃ kartum aśaktatvāt | keśātmaka-māyayodbhava-Rāma-Kṛishṉa-dehāv ādiśya [āviśya?] bhagavān eva tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brūmaḥ phalato 'viśeshāt "kṛishṉāshṭamyām aham niśi" iti svayam evoktatvāch cha ity alam̃ vistareṉa |*

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shown himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a seeming difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094= Bṛih. Āraṇyaka Upan. beginning of adhyāya 7, p. 948 of ed. in Bibliotheca Ind.), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;'[253] and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛishṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity."[254]

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[253] See Dr. Roer's translation of this verse, with his explanatory note at p. 247 of the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii., part iii. The Commentary on the verse in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 1157 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse, x. 8, 29: *Pūrṇat pūrṇam udachati pūrṇam pūrṇena sichyate | uto tad adya vidyāma yatas tat parishichyate |* "He takes a full from a full: the full is sprinkled with the full: and may we to-day know that from which that is sprinkled."

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text:[255]

Ujjahāra | *utpāṭitavān* | *ayam bhāvaḥ* | *mama dushkaram̃ ched yushmābhiḥ sāhāyyam̃ kāryam̃ syāt* | *na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharaṉādau mahaty api kārye mat-keśa-mātrasyaiva samarthatvād iti* | *na tu keśa-mātrāvatāraḥ iti mantavyam* | "*mad-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṉitaḥ*" "*kṛishṉāshṭamyām aham utpatsyāmi*" *ityādishu sākshāt svāvatāratvokteḥ* | *sita-kṛishṉa-keśoddhāraṉam̃ cha śobhārtham eva* | "*Ujjahāra* means that he 'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc., etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament."[256]

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Kṛishṉa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parvan, 7306 ff.:

Tair eva sārdham̃ tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṉam aprameyam | *anantam avyaktam ajam purāṉam̃ sanātanam̃ viśvam ananta-rūpam* | *sa chāpi tad vyadadhāt sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvur dharaṉyām* | *sa chāpi keśau Harir udvavarha śuklam ekam aparam̃ chāpi kṛishṉam* | *tau chāpi keśau niviśetām̃ Yadūnām̃ kule striyau Devakīm̃ Rohiṉīm̃ cha* | *tayor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau śvetas tasya devasya keśaḥ* | *Kṛishṉo dvitīyaḥ Keśavaḥ sambabhūva keśo yo 'sau varṉataḥ kṛishṉaḥ uktaḥ* |

"Along with them (viz. four preceding Indras and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyaṉa, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohiṉī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṉa*) in colour, became Kṛishṉa, Keśava."

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[254] The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishṉu Purāṉa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

[255] I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

[256] See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṉu Purāṉa, viz. in p. 492, and in p. 497 (pp. 247 and 258, vol. v., of Dr. Hall's ed.).

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nīlakaṉṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata:

Atra keśāv eva reto-rūpau Pāṉḍavānām iva Rāma-Kṛishṉayor api prakaraṉa-sangaty-arthaṁ sākshād deva-retasaḥ utpatter avaktavyatvāt[257] | *ataḥ eva Devakyāṁ Rohiṉyāncha sākshāt keśa-praveśaḥ uchyate na tu Vasudeve* | *tathā sati tu "devānāṁ reto varshaṁ varshasya retaḥ oshadhayaḥ" ityādi-śrauta-pranāḍyā 'smad-ādi-vat tayor api vyavadhānena deva-prabhavatvaṁ syāt* | *tathā cha "etan nānā-'vatārāṉāṁ nidhānaṁ vījam avyayam" iti bhagavataḥ sākshād matsyādy-avatāra-vījatvam uchyamānaṁ virudhyeta* | *apicha keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retaḥ-prabhavatve 'rvāksrotastvena manushyatvam putratvaṁ cha syāt*| *tathā cha "Kṛishṉas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ sangachhate* | *na cha keśoddhāraṉāt Kṛishṉasyāpy aṁśatvam pratīyate iti vāchyam* | *keśasya dehāvayavatvābhāvāt* | *tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavye yathā apām phene vajrasya praveśaḥ evaṁ Devakī-Rohiṉyor jaṭhare praveśe kartavye keśadvayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārtsnyena eva āvirbhāvaḥ eshṭavyaḥ iti yuktam* |

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛishṉa, just as in the case of the Pāṉḍavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṉī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But, such being the case, according to the process of derivation described in the Veda, that 'rain is the seed of the gods, and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṉa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'[258]—it would be opposed to that declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Kṛishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Kṛishṇa also is shown to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a part of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt [of Indra] entered into the foam of the waters,[259] so when an entrance

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[257] The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads *avaśya-vaktavyatvāt* |

[258] I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a metrical quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

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[259] I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz. that mentioned in R.V. viii. 14, 13: *Apām phenena Namucheḥ śiraḥ Indrodavartayaḥ | viśvāḥ yad ajayaḥ spṛidhaḥ |* "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyaṇa tells the following story: *Purā kila Indro 'surān jitvā Namuchim asuraṁ grahītuṁ na śaśāka | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsurena jagṛihe | sa cha gṛihītam Indram evam avochat "tvāṁ visṛijāmi rātrāv ahni cha śushkeṇārdreṇa chāyudhena yadi māṁ na hiṁsīr" iti | sa Indras tena visṛishṭaḥ sann ahorātrayoḥ sandhau s'ushkārdra-vilakshaṇena phenena tasya s'iras chichheda | ayam artho 'syām pratipādyate | He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya śiraḥ udavartayaḥ |* "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam, which is different both from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." See also S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii 7, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 94; and also Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 1, 6 f.: *Indro Vṛitraṁ hatvā asurān parābhāvya Namuchim āsuraṁ na alabhata | taṁ S'achyā 'gṛihṇāt | tau samalabhetām | so 'smād abhiśunataro 'bhavat | so 'bravīt "sandhāṁ sandadhāvahai | atha tvā vaḥ (ava ?) srakshyāmi | na mā śushkeṇa na ārdreṇa hanaḥ na divā na naktam" iti | sa etam apām phenam asiñchat | na vai esha śushko na ārdraḥ | vyushṭā āsīd anuditaḥ sūryaḥ | na vai etad divā na naktam | tasya etasmin loke apām phenena śiraḥ udavartayat |* "Indra, after having slain Vṛitra and defeated the Asuras, could not catch Namuchi, who was one of that race. He (Namuchi) captured him (Indra) with S'achi [or by force]. These two laid hold of each other. The one (Namuchi) was stronger than the other (Indra). He (Namuchi) said: 'Let us make an agreement; then I shall let thee go. Promise that thou wilt smite me neither with dry nor wet, neither by day nor by night.' He (Indra) anointed (the thunderbolt) with this foam of the waters, which was neither dry nor wet. It was twilight,—the sun not risen; neither day nor night. He smote off his head with the foam of the waters." The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff.

This story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is again told in the Mahābhārata, S'alya-parvan (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vāsavād bhītaḥ sūrya-raśmiṁ samāviśat | tenendraḥ sakhyam akarot samayanchedam abravīt | "na chārdreṇa na śushkeṇa na* was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

I add an interesting passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 22, 36 ff., where Vishṇu is first of all placed on a level with Brahmā and S'iva; but afterwards declared to be the highest form of Brahma:

36. *Dve rūpe Brahmaṇas tasya mūrtaṁ chāmūrtam eva cha | ksharākshara-svarūpe te sarva-bhūteshv avasthite |* 37. *aksharam paramam Brahma ksharaṁ sarvam idaṁ jagat |* 38. *eka-deśa-sthitasyāgner jyotsnā vistāriṇī yathā | parasya Brahmaṇaḥ śaktis tathedam akhilaṁ jagat |* 39. *tatrāthāsanna-dūratvād bahutva-svalpatāmayaḥ | jyotsnā-bhedo 'sti tachchhaktes tadvad Maitreya vidyate |* 40. *Brahma-Vishṇu-S'ivāḥ brahman pradhānāḥ Brahma-śaktayaḥ | tataś cha devāḥ Maitreya nyūnāḥ Yakshādayas tataḥ |* 41. *Tato manushyāḥ paśavo mṛiga-pakshi-sarīsṛipāḥ | nyūnāḥ nyūnatarāś chaiva vṛiksha-gulmādayas tataḥ | tad etad akshayaṁ nityaṁ jagad muni-varākhilam | āvirbhāva-tirobhāva-janma-nāśa-vikalpavat |* 42. *Sarva-śaktimayo Vishṇuḥ svarūpam Brahmaṇaḥ param | mūrtaṁ yad yogibhiḥ pūrvaṁ yogārambheshu chintyate |* 43. *sālambano mahāyogaḥ savījo yatra saṁsthitaḥ | manasy avyāhate samyag yunjatāṁ jāyate mune |* 44. *sa paraḥ sarva-śaktīnām Brahmaṇaḥ samanantaraḥ | mūrta-brahma mahābhāga sarva-brahmamayo Hariḥ |* 45. *tatra sarvam idam protam otaṁ chaivākhilaṁ jagat | tato jagat jagat tasmin sa jagach chākhilam mune |* 46. *ksharāksharamayo Vishṇur bibharty akhilam īśvaraḥ | purushāvyākṛitamayam bhūshaṇāstra-svarūpavat |*

rātrau nāpi chāhani | badhishyāmy asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te śape" | evaṁ sa kṛitvā samayaṁ dṛishṭvā nīhāram īśvaraḥ | chichhedāsya śiro rājann apām phenena Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namucheś chhinnaṁ pṛishṭhataḥ S'akram anviyāt | bho mitra-hana pāpeti bruvāṇaṁ S'akram antikāt | evaṁ sa śirasā tena chodyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | Pitāmahāya santaptaḥ etam arthaṁ nyavedayat | tam abravīt loka-gurur aruṇāyāṁ yathāvidhi | ishṭvopaspṛiśa devendra tīrthe pāpa-bhayāpahe | "Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'O wicked slayer of thy friend.' Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: 'Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṇā, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,' " etc.

"Of that Brahma there are two conditions, one possessed of form, the other formless. These decaying and undecaying states exist in all creatures. The undecaying is the highest Brahma; the decaying is this entire universe. Just as light is diffused from a fire which is confined to one spot, so is this whole universe the [diffused] energy of the supreme Brahma. And as light shows a difference, greater or less, according to its nearness or distance from the fire, so is there a variation in the energy of Brahma. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yakshas, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yakshas, etc.; and trees and plants are the lowest of all [these energies]. This entire universe, which, O most excellent Muni, is subject to appearance and disappearance, to production, to destruction, and to change, is yet undecaying and eternal. Vishṇu, containing all the energies, is the highest form of Brahma, which, at the commencement of their abstraction is contemplated by Yogins as invested with shape. Directed to him, the great union (*mahāyoga*) with its basis, and its germs, is produced in the undistracted minds of the devotees. Hari (Vishṇu) is the highest and most immediate of all the energies of Brahma, the embodied Brahma, formed of the whole of Brahma. On him this entire universe is woven and interwoven: from him is the world, and the world is in him; and he is the whole universe. Vishṇu, the lord, consisting of what is perishable as well as what is imperishable, sustains everything, both Purusha and Prakṛiti, in the form of his ornaments and weapons." [The writer goes on to explain what is meant by the last clause. Vishṇu bears or wears Purusha as the Kaustubha gem, Prakṛiti as the Śrīvatsa, etc. See Wilson's translation, vol. ii. p. 94 of Dr. Hall's ed.]

In the earlier part of the same section (Wilson, vol. ii., pp. 86 f.) it is said that all kings, whether of men, gods, Daityas, Dānavas, or Rākshasas, are portions of Vishṇu.

VII. In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 38, 50, 181). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Śānti-parvan, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishṭhira says to Kṛishṇa:

Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-śārdūla tathā vikramaṇena cha | punaḥ prāptam idaṁ rājyam pitṛi-

paitāmaham mayā | namas te Puṉḍarīkāksha punaḥ punar arindama | tvām ekam āhuḥ Purushaṁ tvām āhuḥ Sāttvatāṁ gatim | nāmabhis tvām bahuvidhaiḥ stuvanti prayatāḥ dvijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvātman viśva-sambhava | Vishṉo jishṉo Hare Kṛishṉa Vaikuṉṭha Purushottama | Adityāḥ saptadhā tvaṁ tu purāṉe garbhatāṁ gataḥ | Pṛiśnigarbhas tvam evaikas triyugaṁ tvāṁ vadanty api | S'uchisravāḥ Hṛishīkeśo ghṛitāchir haṁsaḥ uchyase | trichakshuḥ S'ambhur ekas tvaṁ vibhur Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhānur vṛishabhas Tārkshyalakshaṉaḥ | . . . . 1514. *Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Kṛishṉa tvam evedaṁ sṛijasi viśvam agre | viśvanchedaṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu te śārṉga-chakrāsi-pāṉe* |

"By thy favour, Kṛishṉa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father and grandfathers. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Purusha: thee alone they call the refuge of the Sātvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Vishṉu, conqueror, Hari, Kṛishṉa, Vaikuṉṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.[260] Thou alone art Pṛiśnigarbha: they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called S'uchiśravas, Hṛishīkeśa, Ghṛitāchi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed S'ambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,[261] the Bull, he whose sign is Tārkshya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Kṛishṉa: it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou source of all things: glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīshma to Kṛishṉa is given, in which the following lines occur:

1609 | *Yasmin viśvāni bhūtāni tishṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guṉa-bhūtāni bhūteśe sūtre maṉi-gaṉāḥ iva | yasmin nitye tate tantau dṛiḍhe srag iva tishṭhati | sad-asad grathitaṁ viśvaṁ viśvānge viśva-karmaṉi* |

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[260] This, I suppose, refers to the Adityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, pp. 114 ff.

[261] A name of Agni.

Harim̃ sahasra-śirasam̃ sahasra-charaṉekshaṉam | sahasra-bāhu-mukuṭam̃ sahasra-vadanojjvalam | prāhur Nārāyaṉam̃ devam̃ yam̃ viśvasya parāyaṉam | anīyasām anīyām̃sam̃ sthavishṭham̃ cha sthavīyasām | garīyasam̃ garishṭham cha śreshṭham̃ cha śreyasām api | yam̃ vākeshv anuvākeshu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | gṛiṉanti satya-karmāṉam̃ satyam̃ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādi | . . . . . 1616. *Sarvātmā sarva-vit sarvaḥ sarvajnaḥ sarva-bhāvanaḥ | yam̃ devam̃ Devakī devī Vasudevād ajījanat | Bhaumasya Brahmaṉo guptyai dīptam Agnim ivāraṉiḥ |* . . . . 1622. *Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantīme jale śakunayo yathā |*

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread the universe, existent and non-existent, abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, with a thousand arms and diadems, resplendent with a thousand faces, whom they call Nārāyaṉa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in 'vākas,' 'anuvākas,' in 'nishads,'[262] and in 'upanishads,' and in true 'sāma'-hymns, . . . 1616. the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakī bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brāhmans and sacrifices, Comm.) as Araṉi (the wood used for kindling fire),[263] produced the flaming Agni. . . . . 1622. In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

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[262] This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as 'nishads,' or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the Upanishads may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the Upapurāṇas do to the Purāṇas. Nīlakaṉṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nishatsu as meaning karmāngādy-avabaddha-devatādi-jnāna-vākyeshu, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda," etc. The Upanishads "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (kevalātma-jnāpaka-vākyeshu). Vākas, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu); while anuvākas are "texts of the Brāhmaṉas, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (mantrārtha-vivaraṉa-bhūteshu brahmaṉa-vākyeshu).

[263] See the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.

In the following passage, also from the S'ānti-parvan, Kṛishṉa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see above, pp. 185–204), in which Kṛishṉa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In the verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Kṛishṉa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṉas; and this Kṛishṉa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half[264] (*tvam̃ hi me 'rdham̃ smritaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṉa (*i.e.* Vishṉu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and S'iva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140. *Yasya prasādajo Brahmā Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ*). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhme rātri-kshaye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasaḥ | prasādāt prādurabhavat padmam padma-nibhekshaṉa | tato Brahmā samabhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajaḥ | ahnaḥ kshaye lalāṭāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvishṭasya sanjajne Rudraḥ sam̃hāra-kārakaḥ | etau dvau vibudha-śreshṭhau prasāda-krodha-jāv ubhau | tad-ādeśita-panthānau sṛishṭi-sam̃hāra-kārakau | nimitta-mātram tāv atra sarva-prāṉi-vara-pradau | kapardī jaṭilo muṉḍaḥ śmaśāna-gṛiha-sevakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dharo Rudro yogī parama-dāruṉaḥ | Daksha-kratu-haraśchaiva Bhaga-netra-haras tathā | Nārāyaṉātmako jneyaḥ Pāṉḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāne vai deva-deve Maheśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṉaḥ prabhuḥ | aham ātmā hi lokānām viśveshām Pāṉḍu-nandana | 13152. tasmād ātmānam evāgre Rudrām̃ sampūjayāmy aham | yady aham̃ nārchayeyam̃ vai Īśānam̃ varadam̃ S'ivam | ātmānam̃ nārchayet kaśchid iti me bhāvitātmanaḥ | mayā pramāṉam̃ hi kṛitam̃ lokaḥ samanuvartate | pramāṉāni hi pūjyāni tatas tam pūjayāmy aham | yas tam̃ vetti sa mām̃ vetti yo 'nu tam̃ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṉaś chaiva sattvam ekam̃ dvidhākṛitam̃ | loke charati Kaunteya vyakti-stham̃ sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenachid deyo varaḥ Pāṉḍava-nandana | iti sanchintya manasā purāṉam Rudram īśvaram | putrārtham ārādhitavān aham ātmānam ātmanā | na hi Vishṉuḥ*

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[264] See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 223 ff.

praṇamati kasmaichit vibudhāya cha | *ṛite ātmānam eveti tato Rudram bhajāmy aham* | *sabrahmakāḥ sarudrāścha sendrāḥ devāḥ saharshibhiḥ* | *archayanti sura-śreshṭhaṁ devaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Harim* | *bhavishyatāṁ vartatāncha bhūtānānchaiva Bhārata* | *sarveshām agraṇīr Vishṇuḥ sevyaḥ pūjyaścha nityaśaḥ ityādi* |

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, O thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his (Vishṇu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger,[265] have their courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplishers [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daksha's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Pṛithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. 13152. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Īśāna, the boon-bestowing S'iva, no one would worship myself [or the Soul]—this is [the reflection made] by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.[266] Authoritative examples are to be reverenced: hence I reverence him (S'iva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.[267] Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 195). For Vishṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

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[265] I quote the following from the Maitrī Upanishad, 5th Prapāṭhaka: *Tamo vai idam agre āsīd ekam* | *tat pare syāt* | *tat tat pareṇa īritaṁ vishamatvam prayāti* | *etad rūpaṁ vai rajaḥ* | *tad rajaḥ khalv īritaṁ vishamatvam prayāti* | *etad vai sattvasya rūpam* | *tat sattvam eva īritaṁ rasaḥ samprāsravat* | *so 'ṁśo 'yaṁ yaś chetā-mātraḥ pratipurushaḥ khetrajnaḥ sankalpādhyavasāyābhimāna-lingaḥ* | *Prajāpatir Viśvā ity asya prāg uktāḥ etās tanavaḥ* | *atha yo ha khalu vāva asya tāmaso 'ṁśo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yaṁ Rudraḥ* | *atha yo ha khalu vāva asya rājaso 'ṁśo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yam Brahmā* | *atha yo ha khalu vāva asya sāttviko 'ṁśo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yaṁ Vishṇuḥ* | *sa vai esha ekas tridhā bhūto 'shṭadhā ekādaśadhā dvādaśadhā aparimitadhā vā udbhūtaḥ udbhūtatvād bhūtam bhūteshu charati pravishṭaḥ sa bhūtānām adhipatir babhūva* | *ity asā ātmā antar bahiś cha antar bahiś cha* | This passage is translated as follows by Professor Cowell: "Verily this was at the first darkness alone; it abode in the Supreme; then, being set in motion by the Supreme, it passes into inequality. This condition becomes activity (*rajas*): this activity, being set in motion, passes into inequality. This becomes the condition of Goodness. This goodness alone was set in motion; and Flavour flowed forth. This is a portion [of the Soul] which is only measured by the Soul, reflected in each individual, cognizant of the body, and possessing as its signs volition, ascertainment, and consciousness. Prajāpati, Viśwā—these and the like, before mentioned, are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized" [*tāmasaḥ*] "portion, that, O ye students, is the same as Rudra; as for its activity-characterized" [*rājasaḥ*] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahman; and as for its goodness-characterized" [*sāttvikaḥ*] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Vishṇu. He truly is one, existing as threefold, as eightfold, as elevenfold, as twelvefold, as infinite fold; he is manifested everywhere; and, from being thus manifested, he is the Being; he enters and pervades all beings, he is the lord of beings. Thus he, the Soul, is within and without, within and without."

In the Vāyu-purāṇa, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum," p. 56*b*, it is declared by Sūta that there is but one God, who assumed three forms (*rājasī, sāttvikī, tāmasī tanūs*) for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world. In the Devā-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book i., sect. 4, v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 80a, Nārada tells Vyāsa that Vishṇu had once spoken to Brahmā as follows: *Srashṭā tvam pālakaś chāhaṁ Haraḥ saṁhāra-kārakaḥ* |

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 6295 ff.), some

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kṛitaḥ keneti sa tarkaḥ kriyate veda-pāragaiḥ | 47 | *Jagat-sanjanane śaktis tvayi vartati rājasī* | *sāttvikī mayi Rudre cha tāmasī parikīrtitā* | 48 | *tayā virahitas tvam tu na hy etat karaṇe prabhuḥ* | *nāham pālayitum śaktaḥ saṁhartum nāpi S'aṅkaraḥ* | 49 | *tad-adhīnāḥ vayaṁ sarve vartāmaḥ satataṁ vibho* | 46. "The question by what thou art made the creator, preserver, and Hara the destroyer, is proposed by those who have studied the Veda. 47. In thee there exists a passionate [or 'active,' as Professor Cowell translates *rājasī*] energy, [which operates] in the production of the world, in me there is declared to be a pure [*sāttvikī*], and in Rudra a dark [*tāmasī*], energy. 48. If we were destitute of these several energies, thou wouldest be unable to create, or I to preserve, or S'ankara to destroy. 49. We are continually dependent upon these our [respective energies]."

[266] See above, p. 53, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gīta, iii. 21 ff.

[267] Compare a similar sentiment in p. 230.

parts of which may be later interpolations, Kṛishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhīshma, at the request of Yudhishṭhira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Kṛishṇa. He states that Kṛishṇa had performed a ceremonial (*vrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flame issued from the mouth of Kṛishṇa, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Kṛishṇa asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Vishṇu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahādeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of his power (*tejas*). Kṛishṇa next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Kṛishṇa's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahādeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahādeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (Bhūtas) and by the nymphs (Apsarases), etc., etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhūta-strī-gaṇa*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and vashaṭkāras, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame which bursts from Mahādeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it consumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter inquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which, as Bhīshma tells us, she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us (v. 6804) that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (Gandharvas). We might have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor; but, as I have said, he is interrupted by Bhīshma at v. 6804, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Kṛishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Kṛishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Kṛishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine character. udhishṭhira, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

Kim ekam daivatam̃ loke kim̃ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kam̃ stuvantaḥ kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | ko dharmaḥ sarva-dharmāṇam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kim̃ japan muchyate jantur janma-sam̃sāra-bandhanāt | Bhīshmaḥ uvācha | Jagat-prabhum̃ deva-devam̃ anantam purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇa purushaḥ satatotthitaḥ | tam eva chārchayan nityam bhaktyā purusham avyayam | dhyāyan stuvan namasyam̃ścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanam̃ Vishṇum̃ sarva-loka-maheśvaram | lokādhyaksham̃ stuvan nityam̃ sarva-duḥkhātigo bhavet | brahmaṇyam̃ sarva-dharma-jnam̃ lokānām̃ kīrti-vardhanan | loka-nātham mahad bhūtam̃ sarva-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | esha me sarva-dharmāṇām̃ dharmo 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . . 6946. *Yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasmim̃ścha pralayam̃ yānti punar eva yuga-kshaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Vishṇor nāma-sahasram me śṛiṇu pāpa-bhayāpaham |*

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhīshma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Purusha, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Purusha, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vishṇu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . v. 6946. Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Vishṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing yuga, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the yuga."

These thousand names of Vishṉu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz. Sarva, S'arva, S'iva, Sthāṉu (v. 6953), Īśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parvan, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṉa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:

Pitāmahād api varaḥ śāśvataḥ Purusho Hariḥ | Kṛishṉo jāmbūnadābhāso vyabhre sūryaḥ iveditaḥ | daśa-bāhur mahātejāḥ devatāri-nisūdanaḥ | śrīvatsānko Hṛishīkeśaḥ sarva-daivata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhavas tathā chāhaṁ śiro-bhavaḥ | śiroruhebhyo jyotīṁshi romabhyaścha surāsuraḥ | ṛishayo deha-sambhūtās tathā lokāś cha śāśvatāḥ | Pitāmaha-gṛihaṁ sākshāt sarva-deva-gṛihaṁ cha saḥ | so 'syāḥ pṛithivyāḥ kṛitsnāyāḥ srashṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁhartā chaiva bhūtānāṁ sthāvarasya charasya cha | sa hi deva-varaḥ sākshād deva-nāthaḥ parantapaḥ | sarvajnaḥ sa hi saṁślishṭaḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛishīkeśaḥ sarvavyāpī maheśvarah | na tasmāt paramam bhūtaṁ trishu lokeshu kinchana | sanātano vai Madhuhā Govindaḥ iti viśrutaḥ | sa sarvān pārthivān sankhye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryārtham utpanno mānushāṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | na hi deva-gaṉāḥ śaktās Trivikrama-vinākṛitāḥ | bhuvane deva-kāryāṉi kartuṁ nāyaka-varjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ sarva-bhūta-namaskṛitaḥ | etasya deva-nāthasya deva-kārya-ratasya cha | brahma-bhūtasya satataṁ devarshi-śaraṉasya cha | Brahmā vasati garbhasthaḥ śarīre mukha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhaṁ saṁśritāś cha śarīre tasya devatāḥ | sa devaḥ puṉḏarīkākshaḥ śrīgarbhaḥ śrī-sahoshitaḥ | ityādi | . . . 6827. bhavārtham iha devānām buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ | prājāpatye śubhe mārge Mānave dharma-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo Manor vaṁśe mahātmanaḥ | . . . . v. 6835. teshaṁ vikhyāta-vīryāṉāṁ chāritra-guṉaśālinām | yajvanāṁ suviśuddhānāṁ vaṁśe brāhmaṉa-sammate[268] *| sa S'ūraḥ kshatriya-śreshṭho mahāvīryo mahāyaśāḥ | sva-vaṁśa-vistara-karaṁ janayishyati mānadaḥ | Vasudevaḥ iti khyātam putram Ānakadundubhim | tasya putraś chaturbāhur Vāsudevo bhavishyati | dātā brāhmaṉa-satkartā brahmabhūto dvija-priyaḥ | . . .* 6842. *Tam bhavantaḥ samāsādya vāṉ-mālyair arhaṉair varaiḥ | archayantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṉam iva śāśvatam | yo hi māṁ drashṭum ichheta Brahmāṉancha pitāmaham | drashṭavyas tena bhagavān Vāsu-*

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[268] Quere, *Brāhmaṉa-śammite*, "equal to Brahmans"?

devaḥ pratāpavān | dṛishṭe tasminn ahaṁ dṛishṭo na me'trāsti vichāraṇā | pitāmaho vā deveśaḥ iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Kṛishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishīkeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the movable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishīkeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He, the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice), are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Srī, dwelling together with Srī. . . . 6827. For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati Manu, characterized by righteousness." [Govinda's ancestors are then detailed.] 6835. "In this family, esteemed by Brahmans, of men renowned for valour, distinguished by good conduct and excellent qualities, priests, most pure, this Sūra, the most eminent of Kshatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,[269] the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a benefactor of Brāhmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmans. . . . 6842. You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this ye whose wealth is austerity."

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[269] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 436 = vol. iv., p. 101, of Dr. Hall's ed.

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parvan (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishṭhira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmans, refers him to Kṛishṉa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

Kṛishṉaḥ pṛithvīm asṛijat kham̃ divancha Kṛishṉasya dehād medinī sambabhūva | varāho 'yam bhīma-balaḥ purāṉaḥ sa parvatān vyasṛijad vai diśaścha | asya chādho 'thāntarīksham̃ divancha diśaś chatasro vidiśaś chatasraḥ | sṛishṭis tathaiveyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viśvam idam purāṉam | asya nābhyām pushkaram̃ samprasūtam̃ yatropannaḥ svayam evāmitaujaḥ | yena chhinnam̃ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghoram̃ yat tat tishṭhaty arṉavam̃ tarjayānam | . . . . 7388. *Vāyur bhūtvā vikshipate sa viśvam agnir bhūtvā dahate viśva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā majjayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā sṛijate sarva-sanghān | vedyancha yad vedayate cha vedyam̃ vidhiścha yaś chāśrayate vidheyam | dharme cha vede cha bale cha sarvam̃ charācharam̃ Keśavam̃ tvam pratīhi | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau purastāt prakāśate yat prabhayā viśva-rūpaḥ | apaḥ sṛishṭvā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam evātha viśvam ityādi* |

"Kṛishṉa created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Kṛishṉa's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions: and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . 7388. Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, movable and immovable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe." Kṛishṇa then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmans, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and rulers of worlds, (*bhasma kuryur jagad idam̃ kruddhāḥ pratyaksha-darśinaḥ | anyān api sṛijeyuś cha lokān lokeśvarām̃s tathā*) and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience regarding Durvāsas (see above, p. 196). He afterwards goes on, in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 197 ff., to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity; and in the course of his description he makes nearly as explicit an avowal of the supreme divinity of the other god, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parvan, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 273 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parvan it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Kṛishṇa had left the city of the Pāṇḍus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pāṇḍus with one another. Kṛishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Kṛishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Kṛishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff.:

Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | tamo rajaś cha sattvam̃ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viddhi mat-prabhavān dvija | mayi sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitaḥ ityādi | . . . 1567. *Sad asachchaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | aksharam̃ cha ksharanchaiva sarvam etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameshu vai dharmāś chaturdhā viditāḥ mune | vaidikani cha sarvāṇi viddhi sarvam mad-ātma-*

kam | asachcha sad-asachchaiva yad viśvaṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ parataraṁ nāsti deva-devāt sanātanāt | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedān viddhi māṁ tvam Bhṛigūdvaha | yūpaṁ somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ tridaśāpyāyanam makhe | hotāram api havyaṁcha viddhi mām Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvaryuḥ kalpakasyāpi haviḥ parama-saṁskṛitam | udgātā chāpi māṁ stauti gīta-ghoshair mahādhvare | prāyaśchitteshu mām brahman śānti-mangala-vāchakāḥ | stuvanti viśvakarmāṉaṁ satataṁ dvija-sattama | mama viddhi sutaṁ dharmam agrajaṁ dvija-sattama | mānasaṁ dayitaṁ vipra sarva-bhūta-dayātmakam | tatrāhaṁ vartamānaiścha nirvṛittaiśchaiva mānavaiḥ | bahvīḥ saṁsaramāṉo vai yonīr vartāmi sattama | dharma-saṁrakshaṉārthāya dharma-saṁsthāpanāya cha | tais tair veśaiś cha rūpaiś cha trishu lokeshu Bhārgava | ahaṁ Vishṉur aham Brahmā S'akro 'tha prabhavāvyayaḥ (āpyayaḥ?)[270] | *bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya srashṭā saṁhāraḥ eva cha | adharme vartamānānāṁ sarveshām aham achyutaḥ | dharmasya setum badhnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tāḥ yonīḥ praviśyāham prajānāṁ hitakāmyayā | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau vartāmi Bhṛigu-nandana | tadā 'haṁ deva-vat sarvam ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ* | . . . . 1582. *Mānushye vartamāne tu kṛipaṉaṁ yāchitāḥ mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohāḥ vacho 'gṛihṉanta mohitāḥ | bhayancha mahad uddiśya trāsitāḥ Kuravo mayā | kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarśitāḥ | te 'dharmeṉeha saṁyuktāḥ parītāḥ kāla-dharmaṉā | dharmeṉa nihatāḥ yuddhe gatāḥ svargaṁ na saṁśayaḥ* | . . . . *Uttangaḥ uvācha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ kartāraṁ tvāṁ Janārdana* |

"Know that the qualities of darkness (*tamas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattva*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. . . . . . 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and non-entity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, O muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], partake of my essence. As regards non-entity, and that which is both entity and non-entity, and that which transcends both entity and non-entity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhṛigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by the oṁkāra, [that I am], the sacrificial post, the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśāpyāyana in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the hotṛi (priest), and the havya (oblation). [I am] also the adhvaryu of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The udgātṛi celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, O excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. There I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishṇu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. When all men live in unrighteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away, entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures. Whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my character of a god." . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582. "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."[271] On hearing this reply of Kṛishṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Kṛishṇa then shows him his divine form.

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[270] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *apyaya*; and Udyoga-parvan, v. 2569.

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[271] See Mahābhārata, S'ānti-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: *Āhave tu hatam śūraṁ na śocheta kathanchana | aśochyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakaṁ tasya na snānaṁ nāpy aśauchakam | hatasya kartum ichhanti tasya lokān śṛiṇushva me | varāpsaraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hatam | tvaramāṇā 'bhidhāvanti "mama bhartā bhaved" iti |* "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarases*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representa-

VIII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 185 f., 194, 196), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishṇu (pp. 263 ff.). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 241, 268), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims.[272] Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivaṁśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that S'iva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in

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tions about Hūris in the Coran. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: *Abhīto vikiran śatrūn pratigṛihya śarāṁś tathā | na tasmāt tridaśāḥ śreyo bhuvi paśyanti kinchana | tasya śastrāṇi yāvanti tvacham bhindanti saṁyuge | tāvataḥ so 'śnute lokān sarva-kāma-duho 'kshayān | yad asya rudhiraṁ gātrād āhave sampravartate | saha tenaiva rūpena sarva-pāpaiḥ pramuchyate* | "The gods see nothing on earth superior to the man who, fearless, scattering his foes, receives arrows in his body. As many weapons as pierce him in the fray, so many worlds yielding all enjoyments does he enjoy. With the blood which flows from his body, and through that misery so endured, he is freed from all his sins." Much more follows in praise of valour and reprehension of timidity. In vv. 3626 ff. a battle is compared to a sacrifice, and their corresponding parts described. In vv. 3666 ff. we are told that King Janaka showed his warriors the shining heavens, filled with Gandharvas' daughters, and yielding all manner of delights, destined for the courageous (*abhīrūṇām ime lokāḥ bhāsvanto hanta paśyata | pūrṇāḥ gandharva-kanyābhiḥ sarva-kāma-duho 'kshayāḥ*); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Kṛishṇa says to Jarāsandha (Sabhā-parvan, v. 869): *Ko hi jānann abhijanam ātmavān kshatriyo nṛipaḥ | nāviśat svargam atulaṁ raṇānantaram avyayam | svargaṁ hy eva samāsthāya raṇa-yajneshu dīkshitāḥ | jayanti kshatriyāḥ lokāṁs tad viddhi manujarshabha | svarga-yonir mahad brahma svarga-yonir mahad yaśaḥ | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe mṛityuḥ so 'vyabhichāravān* | "For what Kshatriya king, who was wise, and appreciated his own noble birth, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshatriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise; such a death never fails of its reward." See also R.V. x. 154, 3; quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 310.

[272] Compare Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varāhap., ibid., p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devībhāg., ibid., p. 81*a*; also Padmap., ibid., p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Kṛishṇa speaks: *S'aivāḥ Saurāś cha Gāṇeśāḥ Vaishṇavāḥ S'akti-pūjakāḥ | mām eva prāpnuvantīha sarvāpaḥ sāgaraṁ yathā | eko hi panchadhā jātaḥ svarūpair nāmabhiḥ kila | Devadatto yathā kaśchit putrādy-āhvāna-nāmabhiḥ* | "The worshippers of S'iva, Sūra (the Sun), Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu and S'akti, come to me, as all streams flow to the ocean. For, though one, I am born with fivefold forms and names, just as the man Devadatta when called [is addressed] by the appellations of 'son,' etc."

their conflict with Kṛishṉa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and S'iva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.) S'iva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called jṛimbhana, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with S'iva against his conflict with Kṛishṉa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. S'iva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛishṉa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṉḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (S'iva) in the form of Hari (Vishṉu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṉḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṉḍeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

Mārkaṉḍeyaḥ uvācha | S'ivāya Vishṉu-rūpāya Vishṉave S'iva-rūpiṉe[273] | *athāntaraṁ na paśyāmi tena te diśataḥ*[274] *śivam | an-ādi-madhya-nidhanam etad aksharam avyayam | tad eva te pravakshyāmi rūpam Hari-Harātmakam | yo vai Vishṉuḥ sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ | ekā mūrtis trayo devāḥ Rudra-Vishṉu-Pitāmahāḥ | varadāḥ loka-kartāro loka-nāthāḥ svayambhuvaḥ | ardha-nārīśvarāś te tu vrataṁ tīvraṁ samāśritāḥ | yathā jale jalaṁ kshiptaṁ jalam eva tu tad bhavet | Rudraṁ Vishṉuḥ pravishṭas tu tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agnim agniḥ pravishṭas tu agnir eva yathā bhavet | tathā Vishṉum pravishṭas tu Rudro Vishṉumayo bhavet | Rudram agnimayaṁ vidyād Vishṉuḥ somātmakaḥ smṛitaḥ | agnīshomātmakaṁ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jangamam | kartārau chāpahartārau sthāvarasya charasya cha | jagataḥ śubha-kartārau prabhū Vishṉu-Maheśvarau | kartṛi-kāraṉa-kartārau kartṛi-kāraṉa-kārakau | bhūta-bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṉa-Maheśvarau | etau tau cha pravaktārāv etau tau cha prabhāmayau | jagataḥ pālakāv etāv etau sṛishṭikarau smṛitau | ete chaiva pravarshanti bhānti vānti sṛijanti cha | etat*

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[273] See the same words above, p. 231.

[274] The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darśitaḥ*.

paratarañ guhyañ kathitañ te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paṭhate nityañ yaś chainañ śriṉuyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramañ sthānañ Rudra-Vishṉu-prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Harau stoshye Brahmaṉā saha sangatau | etau cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Vishṉur Vishṉoścha paramaḥ S'ivaḥ | ekaḥ eva dvidhā-bhūto loke charati nityaśaḥ | na vinā S'ankarañ Vishṉur na vinā Keśavañ S'ivaḥ | tasmād ekatvam āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityādi.

"When thou showest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between S'iva who exists in the form of Vishṉu, and Vishṉu who exists in the form of S'iva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishṉu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishṉu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mūrti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishṉu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishṉu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishṉu must possess the nature of Vishṉu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the nature of Agni; Vishṉu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world, movable and immovable, possesses the nature of Agni and Soma.[275] The lords, Vishṉu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things movable and immovable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṉa and Maheśvara are the [first] makers of the cause, and of [the secondary] maker, the [first] causers of the cause, and of the [secondary] makers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode, granted by the grace of Rudra and Vishṉu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the world. Vishṇu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and S'iva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishṇu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishṇu does not [exist] without S'ankara, nor S'iva without Keśava; hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishṇu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc. Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

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[275] See above, pp. 204 and 225.

The various representations of Kṛishṇa given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 185 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Kṛishṇa.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by S'iśupāla, Duryodhana, Karṇa, and S'alya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognized by the Vaishṇavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Kṛishṇa's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 237 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 243 ff., where the achievements of Kṛishṇa are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognize a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)[276] underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Kṛishṇa himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Droṇa-parvan, v. 402, and the Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyoga-parvan, quoted in p. 247).

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[276] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 615; in second ed., p. 762.

The identification of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 228 ff.)[277] is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Kṛishṇa,—when Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Kṛishṇa is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 185 ff., 194). In another set of texts, however (pp. 230, 264 ff.), Kṛishṇa, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,[278] while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 241, 268). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Kṛishṇa, and that in another place Kṛishṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

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[277] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Purusha, the rishi of the Purusha-sūkta (R.V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

[278] Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 253 ff.), where Kṛishṇa is represented as a partial incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 49.

Though deeper study might lead to a different conclusion, it does not, I think, result from a superficial comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Kṛishṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both, in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Kṛishṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 184 ff., 230 ff., and 269 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 230 and 269). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.[279]

Lassen remarks (i. 780; i. 922 in second ed.), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishṇu is but seldom[280] mentioned—a fact which he regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes (note to i. 561, 1st ed.; i. 675, 2nd ed.) the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrtha-yātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvan, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṉī river, in the country of the Kalingas:

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[279] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., pp. 561, 571, 610, 711, 716, 741, and 781; =pp. 675, 685, 756, 861, 708, 871, 922, in second ed.

[280] Lassen (i. 679 = p. 828 in second ed.) refers to a passage of the Vana-parvan (15283 ff.), where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rājasūya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vishṇu. This story will be quoted further on.

Tatas Tripishṭapam̐ gachchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṉī puṉyā nadī pāpa-praṉāśinī | tatra snātvā 'rchayitvā cha S'ūlapāṉim̐ Vṛishadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramām̐ gatim | "Let him then go to Tripishṭapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaraṉī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book (p. 569 of the printed Calcutta ed.) it is said of the north bank of the same river:

Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravīt | hṛite paśau tadā devās tam ūchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhāḥ mā dharmān sakalān vaśīḥ | tataḥ kalyāṉa-rūpābhir vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | ishṭyā chainam̐ tarpayitvā mānayānchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum utsṛijya deva-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvam̐so Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishṭhira | ayātayāmam̐ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ sankalpayāmāsur bhayād Rudrasya śāśvatam | imām̐ gāthām atra gāyann apaḥ spṛiśati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'sya panthāś cha chakshushā 'bhiprakāśate |

"In this very place, O king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishṭhira: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all portions, the ayātayāma (or fresh portion). The man who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters, obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.'"

In the same Vana-parvan, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarṉa, on the west coast of the Dekhan:

Atha Gokarṉam āsādya trishu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhye rājendra sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | yatra Brahmādayo devāḥ ṛishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . . 8169: *Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ śailāḥ upāsanta Umāpatim | ityādi* | "Then having reached Gokarṉa, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity," [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, Bhūtas, Yakshas, etc., etc.], "rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva)."

The same place is also mentioned in the Rāmopākhyāna of the Vana-parvan, v. 15999 f.:

Trikūṭaṁ samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāsaṁ gambhīrodam mahodadhim | tam atītyātha Gokarṉam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitaṁ sthānam avyagraṁ S'ūlapāṉer mahātmanaḥ | "Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṉa) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarṉa, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident."

[The same Tīrtha-yātrā, however, from which the passages preceding the last are taken, contains the following lines celebrating Kṛishṉa:

Vana-parvan, v. 8349 f.—*Puṉyā Dvāravatī tatra yatrāsau Madhusūdanaḥ | sākshād devaḥ purāṉo 'sau sa hi dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha veda-vido viprāḥ ye chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Kṛishṉaṁ dharmaṁ sanātanam | pavitrāṉāṁ hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchyate | puṉyānām api puṉyo 'sau mangalānāṁ cha mangalam | trailokye Puṉḍarīkāksho deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātmā vyayātmā cha kshetrajnaḥ parameśvaraḥ | āste Harir achintyātmā tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ* | "There is the holy Dvāravatī where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brāhmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Kṛishṉa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods, the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides."]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem:

Ādi-parvan, v. 7049.—*Evam̃ teshām̃ vilapatām̃ viprāṉām̃ vividhāḥ giraḥ | Arjuno dhanusho 'bhyāse tasthau girir ivāchalaḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakshiṉam athākarot | praṉamya śirasā devam Īśānam̃ varadam prabhum | Kṛishṉam̃ cha manasā kṛitvā jagṛihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraiḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-S'alya-S'ālvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-veda-parair nṛiśim̃haiḥ kṛitam̃ na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi |* "While the Brāhmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Kṛishṇa,[291] Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (S'iśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, S'alya, and S'ālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark," etc., etc.

In the Vana-parvan, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhishṭhira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

Jagāma rājan duḥkhārto Gangādvārāya Bhārata | sa devam̃ śaraṉam̃ gatvā virūpāksham Umāpatim | tapaś chachāra vipulam̃ tasya prīto Vṛishadhvajaḥ | balim̃ svayam pratyagṛihṉāt prīyamāṉas Trilochanaḥ | varam̃ chāsmai dadau devaḥ sa jagrāha cha tach chhṛiṉu.| "Samastān sarathān pancha jayeyam̃ yudhi Pāṉḍavān" | iti rājā 'bravīd devam̃ neti devas tam abravīt | ajayyām̃ś chāpy abadhyām̃ś cha vārayishyasi tān yudhi | ṛite 'rjunam mahābāhum̃ Naram̃ nāma sureśvaram | Vadāryām̃ tapta-tapasam̃ Nārāyaṉa-sahāyakam | ajitam̃ sarva-lokānām̃ devair api durāsadam | mayā dattam pāśupatam̃ divyam apratimam̃ śaram | avāpa lokapālebhyo vajrādīn sa mahāśarān | deva-devo hy anantātmā Vishṉuḥ sura-guruḥ prabhuḥ | pradhāna-purusho 'vyaktaḥ viśvātmā viśva-mūrtimān | yugāntakāle samprāpte kālāgnir dahate jagat | sa-parvatārṉava-dvīpam̃ sa-śaila-vana-kānanam |

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[291] Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 646, first ed.; p. 794, second ed.) regards this reference to Kṛishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.

"He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (Haridvāra). There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāṉḍavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṉa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other great weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṉu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests." Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṉu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṉu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Sānti-parvan also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṉi varayāmāsa paraśuṁ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākuṉṭha-dhāreṉa jvalitānala-varchasā | kuṭhāreṉāprameyeṉa lokeshv apratimo 'bhavat*). Then follows the story of Kārtavīrya (see the first volume of this work, pp. 450, 478).

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhishṭhira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Kṛishṉa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyaṁ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale* |

rājasūyam̃ tvayā 'vāptum eshā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhāḥ hi rājānaḥ sarve jitvā Girivraje | kandare parvatendrasya sim̃heneva mahādvipāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyakshur vasudhādhipaiḥ | Mahādevam mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasogreṇa nirjitās tena pārthivāḥ | pratijnāyāś cha pāram̃ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi nirjitya nirjitya pārthivān pṛitanāgatān | puram ānīya baddhvā cha chakāra purusha-vrajam | vayam̃ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt tadā | Mathurām̃ samparityajya gatāḥ Dvāravatīm purīm |

"But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings [as victims]; and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Kṛishṇa) "from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī."

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—*Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhishiktam̃ nṛipatim pradhāna-purusho balāt | ādatte na cha no dṛishṭo 'bhāgaḥ purushataḥ kvachit | evam̃ sarvān vaśe chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān | tam̃ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | prokshitānām pramṛishṭānām̃*[282] *rājnām Paśupater gṛihe | paśūnām ivā kā prītir jīvite Bharatarshabha |* "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and we do not see that he has failed to master any mortal anywhere.[283] In this manner

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[282] The commentator's remark on this is as follows: *Pramṛishṭānām | Rudra-daivatyo 'yam iti pratyekam abhimṛishṭānām |*

[283] These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: *Jarāsandhena abhāgaḥ asvīkṛitaḥ | purushataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu purusheshu | tena sarve vaśīkṛitāḥ ity arthaḥ |* "*Abhāgaḥ* means 'unappropriated' by Jarāsandha. *Purushataḥ* means 'among anointed kings.' The sense is, that 'all have been subdued by him.'"

Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

Kṛishṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Kṛishṇa says to Jarāsandha:

Sabhā-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—*Tvayā chopahṛitāḥ rājan kshatriyāḥ loka-vāsinaḥ | tad āgaḥ krūram utpādya manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājnaḥ katham̃ sādhūn him̃syād nṛipati-sattama | yad rājnaḥ sannigṛihya tvam̃ Rudrāyopajihīrshasi | asmām̃s tad enopagachchhet kṛitam̃ Vārhadratha tvayā | vayam̃ hi śaktāḥ dharmasya rakshaṇe dharmachāriṇaḥ | manushyāṇām̃ samālambho na cha dṛishṭaḥ kadāchana | sa katham mānushair devam̃ yashṭum ichhasi S'ankaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānām*[284] *paśu-sanjnām̃*

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[284] On this the commentator remarks: *Nanu "Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabheta" ityādinā sarva-jātīyānām̃ sarva-karmaṇām manushyāṇām ālambho devatārtham badhaḥ śrūyate ity āśankya āha savarṇo hi iti |* "But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, 'let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,' etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, 'For thou, belonging to the same tribe,' etc."

Texts such as that here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taitt. Br., iii. 4, 1, 1 ff. (*Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabhate ityādi |* "He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman," etc., etc.) and in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxx. 5 ff. (*Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ityādi*). In regard to the question whether human sacrifices were practised in the earliest Vedic age, see Prof. Haug, as quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 11, and in the second volume, p. 463; the story of S'unaśśepa, adduced in vol. i., pp. 355 ff.; Prof. Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 419 f.; Prof. Weber's paper in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii., pp. 262 ff. (reprinted in his Indische Streifen, i., pp. 54 ff.). The two last-named writers quote texts from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii., 8, and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, which I shall here cite. The former begins thus: *Purusham̃ vai devāḥ paśum ālabhanta | tasmād ālabdhād medhaḥ udakrāmat | so 'śvam prāviśat | tasmād aśvo medhyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkrānta-medham atyārjanta | sa kimpurusho 'bhavat | te 'śvam ālabhanta | so 'śvād ālabdhād udakrāmat | sa gām prāviśat | tasmād gaur medhyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkrānta-medham atyārjanta sa gauramṛigo 'bhavat | te gām ālabhanta | sa gor ālabdhād udakrāmat | so 'vim prāviśat |* "The gods sacrificed a man as a victim. After he had been sacrificed, the sacrificial element went out of him. It entered into the horse, which consequently became suitable for sacrifice. They then dismissed the man, after the sacrificial element had left him; and he became a kimpurusha," [probably an ape, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. ii., p. 228, and vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, Ind. Stud., ix., 246. "The author very

karishyasi | ko 'nyaḥ evaṁ yathā hi tvaṁ Jarāsandha vṛithā-matiḥ | yasyāṁ yasyām avasthāyāṁ yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyāṁ tasyām avasthāyāṁ tat-phalaṁ samavāpnuyāt | te tvāṁ jnāti-khsaya-karaṁ vayam ārtānusāriṇaḥ | jnāti-vṛiddhi-nimittārthaṁ vinihantum ihāgatāḥ | . . . . Jarasāndha uvācha . . . . 882 : *Devatārtham upāhṛitya rājnaḥ Kṛishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchyeyaṁ kshātraṁ vratam anusmaran |*

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshatriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king slaughter virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, would attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god S'ankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those

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likely means a dwarf," Haug's transl. of the Ait. Br., p. 90, note; Müller regards the word as meaning "a savage."] "They sacrificed the horse, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the ox, which consequently became fit for sacrifice. They then dismissed the horse out of which the sacrificial element had departed, and it became a white deer. They next sacrificed the ox, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the sheep," etc. The same thing happens to the goat (in which the sacrificial element remained longest), then to the earth, in which it (the thing fit for sacrifice), when followed by the gods, became rice.

On this Prof. Müller remarks: "The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued."

The text from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, is as follows: *Purushaṁ ha vai devāḥ agre paśum ālebhire | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | so 'śvam praviveśa | te 'śvam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma sa gām praviveśa | te gām ā—— | so 'vim praviveśa | te 'vim ā—— | so 'jam praviveśa | te 'jam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | 7 | sa imām pṛithivīm praviveśa | taṁ khanantaḥ iva anvīshuḥ | tam anvavindaṁs tāv imau vrīhi-yavau | . . . . . . sa yāvad-vīryavad ha vai asya ete sarve paśavaḥ ālabdhāḥ syus tāvad-vīryavad ha asya havir bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |* "The gods formerly offered up a man as a victim. The sacrificial element left him when he had been sacrificed and entered into the horse. They offered up the horse; whereupon the sacrificial element went out of him and entered into the ox." The same thing happens with the ox, and then with the sheep and the goat successively. "The sacrificial element went out of the goat, and (7) entered the earth. Digging, they searched for it, and found it (the thing fit for sacrifice) in the shape of rice and barley. . . . . . An oblation of these grains has as much efficacy, for him who knows this fact, as resides in all these victims when sacrificed."

princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act, will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred." Kṛishṇa, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Kṛishṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them through fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parvan; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who, after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rākshasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715), and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rākshasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhadraṁ te Rākshasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava veśmani rājendra pūjitā nyavasaṁ sukham | gṛihe gṛihe manushyāṇāṁ nityaṁ tishṭhāmi rākshasī | gṛiha-devīti nāmnā vai purā sṛishṭā Svayambhuvā | dānavānāṁ vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo māṁ bhaktyā likhet kuḍye saputrāṁ yauvanānvitām | gṛihe tasye bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā kshayam āpnuyāt | tvad-gṛihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjitā 'haṁ sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kuḍye 'ham putrair bahubhir āvṛitā | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhakshyair bhojyaiḥ supūjitā | sā 'ham pratyupakārārthaṁ chintayāmy aniśaṁ tava | taveme putra-śakale dṛishṭavaty asmi dhārmika | saṁśleshite mayā daivāt kumāraḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram ahaṁ tv iha | Meruṁ vā khādituṁ śaktā kim punas tava bālakam | gṛiha-sampūjanāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |

"I am, bless thee, a Rākshasī named Jarā, who can change my shape at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, O king, and continually reverenced, painted upon the wall,[285] surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, O great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rākshasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy Jarāsandha, because he had been put together (*sandhitaḥ*) by the Rākshasī *Jarā* (v. 738. *Ājnāpayach cha rākshasyāḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samaḥ pitā | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatv ayam*). The rishi Chaṇḍakauśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753. *Esha Rudram Mahādevam̃ tripurānta-karam̃ Haram | sarva-lokeshv atibalo sākshād drakshyati Māgadhaḥ*).

The description here given by the Rākshasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609, first ed.; p. 755, second ed.) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishṭhira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, first ed.; p. 821, second ed., remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Kṛishṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishṇu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Siśupāla, which has been given above (pp. 205 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Kṛishṇa's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by S'iśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and, according to Lassen,[286] a representative of the Saiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Kṛishṇa was, as I have already noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karṇa, and S'alya (pp. 216, 218, 220, etc.).

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[285] Lassen remarks, vol. i., p. 755, note, that this is one of the oldest references in Indian literature to images of the gods.

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 283, note 280), to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishṇu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parvan, 15274 ff., Karṇa, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karṇa replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishṭhira lives, and while his own father, Dhṛitarāshṭra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

Asti tv anyad mahat satram rājasūya-samam prabho | *tena tvam yaja rājendra śṛiṇu chedam vacho mama* | *ye ime pṛithivī-pālāḥ kara-dās tava pārthiva* | *te karān samprayachhantu suvarṇancha kṛitākṛitam* | *tena te kriyatām adya lāngalam nṛipa-sattama* | *yajna-vāṭasya te bhūmiḥ kṛishyatām tena Bhārata* | *tatra yajno nṛipa-śreshṭha prabhūtānnaḥ susamskṛitaḥ* | *pravartatām yathānyāyam sarvato hy anivāritaḥ* | *esha te Vaishṇavo nāma yajnaḥ satpurushochitaḥ* | *etena neshṭavān kaśchid ṛite Vishṇum purātanam* | *rājasūyam kratu-śreshṭham spardhaty esha mahākratuḥ* | "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and unwrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the ground of thy sacrificial inclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice, well arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishṇava sacrifice (the sacrifice of Vishṇu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men. With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishṇu.[287] This great ceremonial vies with the Rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices."

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[286] See above, p. 211, note 210.

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some foolish persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishṭhira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahīpatim | Yudhishṭhirasya yajnena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ | naiva tasya krator esha kalām arhati shoḍaśīm | evaṁ tatrābruvan kechid vātikās taṁ janeśvaram | suhṛidas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karṇa-parvan, quoted above, pp. 223 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishṇu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākshasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (S'ānti-parvan, 1414–1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, the eloquent mendicant Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samaṇtapanchaka.

I subjoin both of these passages: the substance of the first is given at the close of the preceding sentence.

S'alya-parvan, v. 3619: *Yadi jānāti Chārvākaḥ parivrād vāg-viśā-*

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[287] It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.

radaḥ | karishyati mahābāho dhruvam̃ chāpachitam mama | Samantapanchake puṇye trishu lokeshu viśrute |

The passage from the S'ānti-parvan, v. 1414, is as follows: *Niśśabde cha sthite tatra tato vipra-jane punaḥ | rājānam brāhmaṇa-chhadmā Chārvāko rākshaso 'bravīt | tatra Duryodhana-sakhā bhikshu-rūpeṇa sam̃vṛitaḥ | sākshaḥ śikhī tridaṇḍī cha dhṛishṭo vigata-sādhvasaḥ | vṛitaḥ sarvais tathā viprair āśīrvāda-vivakshubhiḥ | param̃ sahasraiḥ rājendra tapo-niyama-sam̃śritaiḥ | sa dushṭaḥ pāpam āśam̃suḥ Pāṇḍavānām mahātmanām | anāmantryaiva tān viprām̃s tam uvācha mahīpatim | Chārvākaḥ uvācha | ime prāhur dvijāḥ sarve samāropya vacho mayi | dhig bhavantam̃ kunṛipatim̃ jnāti-ghātinam astu vai | kim̃ tena syād hi Kaunteya kṛitvemam̃ jnāti-sankshayam | ghātayitvā gurūm̃ś chaiva mṛitam̃ śreyo na jīvitam | iti te vai dvijāḥ śrutvā tasya dushṭasya rakshasaḥ | vivyathuś chukruśuś chaiva tasya vākya-pradharshitāḥ | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve sa cha rājā Yudhishṭhiraḥ | vrīḍitāḥ paramodvignās tūshṇīm āsan viśāmpate | Yudhishṭhiraḥ uvācha | prasīdantu bhavanto me praṇatasyābhiyāchataḥ | pratyāsanna-vyasaninam̃ na mām̃ dhikkartum arhatha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | tato rājan brāhmaṇās te sarve eva viśāmpate | ūchur naitad vacho 'smākam̃ śrīr astu tava pārthiva | jajnuś chaiva mahātmānas tatas tu jnāna-chakshushā | brāhmaṇāḥ veda-vidvām̃sas tapobhir vimalīkṛitāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ ūchuḥ | esha Duryodhana-sakhā Chārvāko nama rākshasaḥ | parivrājaka-rūpeṇa hitam̃ tasya chikīrshati | na vayam brūma dharmātman vyetu te bhayam īdṛiśam | upatishṭhatu kalyāṇam bhavantam bhrātṛibhiḥ saha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve hunkāraiḥ krodha-mūrchhitāḥ | nirbhartsayantaḥ śuchayo nijaghnuḥ pāparākshasam | sa papāta vinirdagdhas tejasā brahmavādinām | māhendrāśani-nirdagdhaḥ pādapo 'nkuravān iva | pūjitāś cha yayur viprāḥ rājānam abhinandya tam | rājā cha harsham āpede Pāṇḍavaḥ sa-suhṛij-janaḥ | tatas tatra tu rājānam̃ tishṭhantam bhrātṛibhiḥ saha | uvācha Devakīputraḥ sarvadarśī Janārdanaḥ | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | brāhmaṇās tāta loke 'sminn archanīyāḥ sadā mama | ete bhūmicharāḥ devāḥ vāg-vishāḥ suprasādakāḥ | purā Kṛitayuge rājam̃ś Chārvāko nāma rākshasaḥ | tapas tepe mahābāho Vadaryām bahuvārshikam | vareṇa chhandyamānaś cha Brahmaṇā cha punaḥ punaḥ | abhayam̃ sarva-bhūtebhyo varayāmāsa Bhārata | dvijāvamānād anyatra prādād varam anuttamam | abhayam̃ sarvabhūtebhyo dadau tasmai Prajāpatiḥ | sa tu labdha-varaḥ pāpo devān amita-vikramaḥ | rākshasas tāpayāmāsa tīvrakarmā mahābalaḥ |* 1414.

"When the Brahmans were again standing silent, the Rākshasa Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, a pretended Brahman, in the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his head, carrying three staves, bold, and shameless, addressed the king. Surrounded thus by all the Brahmans, thousands in number, who were devoted to austere observances, and who sought to utter blessings, this wretch, who wished ill to the great Pāṇḍavas, without consulting the Brahmans, thus spoke to the monarch: 'All these Brahmans, assigning the speech to me, utter an imprecation against thee, thou wicked king, slayer of thy kindred. What can come of this? Since thou hast destroyed thy kinsmen, and slaughtered thy elders, death is better for thee than life.' Hearing the words of this wicked Rākshasa, the Brahmans were pained, and cried out, being provoked by his speech. All the Brahmans and king Yudhishṭhira, being ashamed and extremely vexed, remained silent. Then Yudhishṭhira said: 'Let all your reverences be gracious to me, who bow down, and supplicate you. You ought not to curse me, who have so recently been involved in calamity.' All the Brahmans replied: 'These were not our words: prosperity be thine, O king!' These great Brāhmans, learned in the Veda, purified by austerities, understood by the eye of knowledge (who Chārvāka was). They said: 'This is a Rākshasa called Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, who has assumed the form of a wandering mendicant, and desires his welfare. We say nothing (of what he pretends); let such an apprehension pass away from thee: may good fortune be the lot of thyself and thy brothers!' The holy Brahmans then, furious with anger, slew the wicked Rākshasa, reviling him with loud menaces. Burnt up by the fervour of these utterers of the Veda, he fell, like a sprouting tree consumed by the lightning of Indra. The Brahmans honoured, departed, after saluting the king; and the Pāṇḍava monarch and his friends were glad. The all-seeing Janārdana, son of Devakī, then said to the king as he stood there with his brothers: 'The Brahmans are always to be revered by me in this world: they are gods who walk on the earth, whose words are poison, and also beneficent. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, a Rākshasa named Chārvāka practised austerity for many years at Badari. Having again and again received from Brahmā the offer of any boon which he might prefer, he chose that of security against all creatures. Prajāpati granted the incomparable boon which he asked, on condition that he should not contemn the Brahmans. But the wicked Rākshasa of boundless valour, fierce in act, and great in force, having obtained the boon, began to vex the gods.'" The result is that they appeal to Brahmā, who assures them that he has provided for the speedy death of Chārvāka. Duryodhana will become his friend; and out of regard to him, he will treat the Brāhmans with disrespect; and they will destroy him. This has now been fulfilled.[288]

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra (=Śiva)-worship, and the Pāṇḍus or Panchālas of the Indra (=Vishṇu)-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parvan (where Kṛishṇa is describing to Yudhishṭhira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishṇu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarāsandhaṁ gatas tv eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | *Purushottama-vijnāto yo 'sau Chedishu durmatiḥ* | *ātmānam pratijānāti loke 'smin Puroshottamam* | *ādatte satatam mohād yaḥ sa chihnaṁ cha māmakam* | *Vanga-Puṇḍra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ* | *Pauṇḍrako Vāsudeveti yo 'sau loke 'bhiviśrutaḥ* | "And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—He who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Puṇḍras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Puṇḍras.[289] He is mentioned also Ādip. v. 6992.

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[288] Both passages had been previously translated by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix., pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other text in the Mahābhārata in which the connexion of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though, from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. The passage referred to in the summary of the contents of the Mahābhārata, i. 349, must be the second of those here quoted.

[289] On this Lassen remarks (i. p. 608, first ed.; p. 754 f., second ed.): "Since

The following remarks of Prof. Weber on the preceding chapter (translated from a notice of this work in the "Literarisches Central Blatt," reprinted in his "Indische Streifen," ii. 226 f.) may be introduced here, though they might perhaps have been more appropriately quoted in p. 97, or p. 163. "As regards the second part, the representation of the Vishṇu legends, it is impossible to arrive at any certain conception of the proper nature of this god from the documents presented to us. According to our view it would have been perhaps more advantageous for the course of the representation in general to start, not from the later triad of gods, but from the Vedic triad, which so often appears in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, viz. that of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, the rulers of the earth, the air, and the heaven; as we have in fact actually to recognize this as the foundation of the later triad. The sun, as the generative, creative, principle, is throughout the ritual-texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connexion with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of S'iva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishṇu, the lord of the solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation (see my two Vedic texts on omens and portents, p. 338). This close relation of Vishṇu to Indra is far from being estimated by the author in its full significance. Vishṇu owes to Indra his blue colour, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relations to the human heroes, as Arjuna, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa, which have become of such great importance for his entire history."

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these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishṇu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishṇu."

CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHADEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, AND THE BRĀHMANAS.

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Kṛishṇa's nature, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus anticipated much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representations which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

Sect. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R.V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodha tad viviḍḍhi viśe viśe yajñiyāya stomam̃ rudrāya dṛiśīkam* | "Thou who art skilled in praise, utter therefore for every house a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)."[1] In connexion with this verse, Yāska remarks:

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudraḥ uchyate* | *tasya eshā bhavati. . . . jarā stutiḥ* | *jarateḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ* | *tām bodha tayā bodhayitar iti vā* | *tad viviḍḍhi*[2] *tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanāya stomam̃ Rudrāya darśanīyam* | "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse

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[1] See Prof. Benfey's version of this and following texts of the first maṇḍala of the R.V. in his "Orient und Occident."

[2] See Westergaard, Benfey's Glossary to Sama-veda, and Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v. vish.*

(the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarābodha.* Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that "rudra" in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole "ṭricha," or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R.V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R.V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Aśvins,[3] respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ S'unaśśepham uvācha "Rudram̃ stuhi raudrāḥ hi paśavaḥ" iti* | *Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāham̃ jānāmi Rudram̃ stotum̃ tvam eva etam̃ stuhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi* | "Agni, when he was being praised, said to S'unaśśepha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (S'unaśśepha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R.V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetase mīḷhushṭamāya tavyase* | *vochema śantamam̃ hṛide* | 2. *Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gave* | *yathā tokāya rudriyam*[4] | 3. *Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraś chiketati* ¦ *yathā viśve sajoshasaḥ* | 4. *Gātha-patim medha-patim̃ Rudram̃ jalāsha-bheshajam* | *tat śam̃yoḥ sumnam īmahe* | 5. *Yaḥ śukraḥ iva sūryo hiraṇyam iva rochate* | *śreshṭho devānām̃ vasuḥ* | 6. *Sam̃ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meshāya meshye* | *nṛibhyo nāribhyo gave* | "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who is the best and most bountiful of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows."

R.V. i. 64, 2.—*Te jajnire divaḥ ṛishvāsaḥ ukshaṇo Rudrasya maryāḥ asurāḥ arepasaḥ* | *pāvakāsaḥ śuchayaḥ sūryāḥ iva satvāno na drapsino*

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[3] See also R.V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.

[4] "Rudra's favour" (Benfey). Compare *mārutasya bheshajasya* in R.V. viii. 20, 23.

ghora-varpasaḥ | 3. *Yuvāno Rudrāḥ ajarāḥ abhogghano vavakshur adhrigāvaḥ parvatāḥ iva* | *dṛiḻhā chid viśvā bhuvanāni pārthivā prachyāvayanti divyāni majmanā* | . . . . 12. *Ghṛishum pāvakam̃ vaninam̃ vicharshaṉim̃ Rudrasya sūnum̃ havasā gṛiṉīmāsi* | *rajasturam̃ tavasam mārutam̃ gaṉam ṛijīshiṉam̃ vṛishaṉam̃ saśchata śriye* | "These followers of Rudra have been produced from the Sky, exalted, fertilizing, divine, purifiers, bright as suns, like heroes, shedding drops, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the niggardly, resistless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all terrestrial and celestial creatures, however firm. . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing energetic offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the host of Maruts, which sweeps over the atmosphere, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing."[5]

R.V. i. 85, 1.—*Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayo*[6] *yāman Rudrasya sūnavaḥ sudam̃sasaḥ* | *rodasī hi marutaś chakrire vṛidhe madanti vīrāḥ vidatheshu ghṛishvayaḥ* | "The swift Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who, in their course, are bright like wives, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R.V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).—*Imāḥ Rudrāya tavase kapardine*[7] *kshayad-vīrāya*[8] *prabharāmahe matīḥ* | *yathā*

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[5] See Prof. Max Müller's version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his Translation of the R.V., vol. i.

[6] See Prof. Max Müller's note on this word, Translation of R.V. i. 110 ff. The word also occurs in R.V. x. 142, 2, as well as in the other texts enumerated by Müller, p. 112

[7] *Kapardin* is also an epithet of Pūshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2: *Rathītamam̃ kapardinam īśānam̃ rādhaso mahaḥ* | *rāyaḥ sakhāyam īmahe* | "We solicit the great charioteer, adorned with spirally-braided hair, the lord of great bounty, and our friend, for wealth." And also in R.V. ix. 67, 10, 11: *Avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani* | *ābhākshat kanyāsu naḥ* | 11. *Ayam̃ somaḥ kapardine ghṛitam̃ na pavate madhu* | *ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ* | "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damsels. 11. This soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he make us possessors of damsels." The word is also applied to the Tṛitsus in R.V. vii. 83, 8. . . . . . . *S'vityancho yatra namasā kapardino dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta Tṛitsavaḥ* | . . . . "Where the white-robed Tṛitsus with braided hair have worshipped you with obeisances and prayers." With this compare *dakshiṉataskapardāḥ* in R.V. vii. 33, 1. The word *Kapardin* also occurs in R.V. x. 102, 8.

[8] This word is rendered "governing men" by Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. ii. (published 1856–1858), who first cite, as determining the sense of the word, R.V.

śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvam pushṭam̃ grāme asminn anāturam | 2. (=T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2) *Mṛiḷa no Rudra uta no mayas kṛidhi kshayad-vīrāya namasā vidhema te* | *yat śam̃ cha yoścha Manur ā yeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra praṇītishu* | 3. *Aśyāma te sumatim̃ deva-yajyayā kshayad-vīrasya tava Rudra mīḍhvaḥ* | *sumnāyann id viśo asmākam āchara arishṭa-vīrāḥ juhavāma te haviḥ* | 4. *Tvesham̃ vayam̃ Rudram̃*

viii. 19, 10: *Yasya tvam ūrdhvo adhvarāya tishṭhasi kshayadvīraḥ sa sādhate* | *sa arvadbhiḥ sanitā sa vipanyubhiḥ sa śūraiḥ sanitā kṛitam* | "The man to whom thou hoverest over the sacrifice, prospers as a commander of heroes: he, with horses, with triumphant men, with heroes, will acquire spoil." Benfey also (Orient und Occident, iii. pp. 140 and 156) renders the word "governing heroes"; and adds in a note on the latter page: "Are the heroes, the single stormy winds, the maruts (comp. v. 6) over whom Rudra rules; or is Rudra generally designated as the lord of all heroes, inasmuch as he makes them swift, and destructive as storm-winds, in battle? 'Destroyer of heroes,' as Whitney proposes, ('slayer of men,' Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 319, published in 1853), is not specially suitable in R.V. viii. 19, 10, or in other places." Professor Aufrecht translates the word "ruling over men" (as well as gods). Rudra, he remarks, is called *īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūreḥ*, "lord over this manifold creation," in R.V. ii. 33, 9; and compares *sed u rājā kshayati charshaṇīnām* in i. 32, 15, and the similar phrases in i. 112, 3, and x. 9, 5. Kshayadvīra is, he believes, nothing more than the usual *nṛipati*. It is true, Professor Aufrecht adds, that in i. 114, 8, it is said of Rudra, "do not strike our children in thy anger," and that in iv. 3, 6, he is called *nṛihan*; but he does not think it likely that in one particular hymn a word should have a quite different meaning from that which it has in all other passages; and regards it as quite possible that *nṛihan* may be based on a false interpretation of *kshayadvīra*. Sāyaṇa renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10, he interprets it: *nivasadbhir itvarair vā vīraiḥ putrādibhir upetaḥ* | i.e. "attended by heroes, sons, etc., dwelling or moving." On i. 106, 4, where it is an epithet of Pūshan, he explains it *ati-balinam* | *yasmin sarve vīrāḥ kshīyante*, i.e. "very powerful: he in whom all heroes are consumed." On the passage before us, i. 114, 1, he gives two possible explanations of it: *Kshayanto vinaśyanto vīrāḥ yasmin tādṛiśāya* | *yadvā kshayatir aiśvaryakarmā* | *kshayantaḥ prāptaiśvaryāḥ vīrāḥ Marudgaṇāḥ putrāḥ yasya* | "He in whom heroes perish; or, as the root *kshi* also means 'exercising authority,'—he of whom the Maruts, heroes, exercising authority, are the sons." The same verse occurs in Vāj. S., xvi. 48, where Mahīdhara interprets the phrase: *Kshayanto nivasanto vīrāḥ śūrāḥ yatra sa kshayadvīras tasmai śūra-yutāya ity arthaḥ* | *kshayanto naśyanto vīrāḥ ripavo yasmād iti vā* | "He in whom heroes dwell is *kshayadvīra*; to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish." On the second and third verses of i. 114, Sāyaṇa repeats in different words the explanations he had given on the first verse (*Kshayita-sarva-vīram prāptaiśvaryair marudbhir yuktam̃ vā* | *kshayita-pratipakshasya Marudbhir yuktasya vā*). On verse 10, he confines himself to the one explanation, *Kshayita-sarva-śatru-jana*. In R.V. i. 125, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra; where Sāyaṇa expounds it thus: *Kshiyanto nivasanto vīrāḥ putra-bhṛityādayo yasya tam̃ tādṛiśam̃ tvad-ishṭa-sādhana-bahu-dhana-pradātāram* | "He in whom heroes, sons, servants, etc., abide—the giver of much wealth, which is the instrument of obtaining thy wishes."

yajna-sādhaṁ vankuṁ kavim avase nihvayāmahe | *āre asmad daivyaṁ heḷo asyatu sumatim id vayam asya ā vṛiṇīmahe* | 5. *Divo varāham arushaṁ kapardinaṁ tveshaṁ rūpaṁ namasā nihvayāmahe* | *haste bibhrad bheshajā vāryāṇi śarma varma chhardir asmabhyaṁ yaṁsat* | 6. *Idam pitre Marutām uchyate vachaḥ svādoḥ svādīyo Rudrāya vardhanam* | *rāsva cha no amṛita marta-bhojanaṁ tmane tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa* | 7 (=V. S. 16, 15; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2; A. V. ii. 2, 29). *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā naḥ ukshantam uta mā naḥ ukshitam* | *mā no badhīḥ pitaram mota mātaram mā naḥ priyās tanvo Rudra rīrishaḥ* | 8. (V. S. 16, 16; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3). *Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau* (*āyushi* V. S., T. S.) *mā no goshu mā no aśveshu rīrishaḥ* | *vīrān mā no bhāmito* (*bhāmino* V. S., T. S.) *badhīr havishmantaḥ sadam it tvā havāmahe* | 9. *Upa te stomān paśu-pāḥ ivākaram rāsva pitar Marutāṁ sumnam asme* | *bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛiḷayattamā atha vayam avaḥ it te vṛiṇīmahe* | 10. (T.S. iv. 5, 10, 3). *Āre te go-ghnam uta pūrusha-ghnam kshayad-vīra sumnam asme te astu* | *mṛiḷa cha no adhi cha brūhi deva adha cha naḥ śarma yachha dvi-barhāḥ* | 11. *Avochāma namo asmai avasyavaḥ sṛiṇotu no havaṁ Rudro marutvān* | *tan no Mitro Varuṇo mamahantām Aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛithivī uta dyauḥ* |

"We present these prayers to Rudra,[9] the strong, with spirally-braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to our two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our divine worship obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our men unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the swift, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the ruddy boar of the sky, with spirally-braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us protection, defence, shelter. 6. This exhilarating hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, O immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men (life, V.S.), nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our men in thine anger (angry men, V.S.): we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. As a keeper of cattle (brings victims), so have we brought praises near to thee:[10] bestow on us thy favour, O father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy blessing be with us. Be gracious to us, O god, and take our side; bestow on us mightily thy protection. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May

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[9] Sāyaṇa, in his note on this verse, gives no less than six explanations of the word Rudra, which I subjoin, as a specimen of commentorial ingenuity: *Rodayati sarvam antakāle iti Rudraḥ* | *yadvā rut saṁsārākhyaṁ duḥkham* | *tad drāvayaty apagamayati vināśayati iti Rudraḥ* | *yadvā rutaḥ śabda-rūpāḥ upanishadaḥ* | *tābhir drūyate gamyate pratipādyate iti Rudraḥ* | *yadvā rut śabdātmikā vāṇī tat-pratipādyātma-vidyā vā* | *tam upāsakebhyo rāti dadāti iti Rudraḥ* | *yadvā ruṇaddhy āvṛiṇoti iti rud andhakārādi* | *tad dṛiṇāti vidārayati iti Rudraḥ* | *yadvā kadāchid devāsura-sangrāme 'gny-ātmako Rudro devair nikshiptaṁ dhanam apahṛitya niragāt* | *asurān jitvā devāḥ enam anvishya dṛishṭvā dhanam apāharan* | *tadānīm arudat* | *tasmād Rudraḥ ity ākhyāyate* | "He is called Rudra (1) because he makes every one weep (*rodayati*) at the destruction of the world. Or (2) *rut* means the suffering called the world. He drives away (*drāvayati*), removes, destroys, that: therefore he is named Rudra. Or (3) *rut* in the plural means the Upanishads, which are composed of words: by them he is attained, expounded (*drūyate*): therefore he is termed Rudra. Or (4) *rut* signifies language composed of words, or the science of soul which is to be explained by it: this he gives (*rāti*) to his worshippers: hence he is denominated Rudra. Or (5) the root *rudh* means to shut, cover; and therefore *rut* means darkness, etc.: he tears (*dṛiṇāti*), rends, it: therefore he is designated as Rudra. Or (6) when on one occasion there was a battle between the gods and Asuras, Rudra having the nature of Agni carried off the treasures which had been thrown down by the gods and went away. But the gods, after conquering the Asuras, sought him, saw him, and took the treasures from him: then he wept (*arudat*), and from that he is called Rudra."

[10] Compare R.V. x. 127, 8, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kar+upa+ā: upa te gāḥ iva ākaram vṛiṇīshva duhitar divaḥ | Rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe* | "I have, O Night, brought before thee (praises) as it were cows; choose (them, daughter of the Sky), as it were a hymn to a conqueror." Sāyaṇa (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: *Yathā paśūnām pālayitā gopaḥ prātaḥkāle svasmai samarpitān paśūn sāyaṁkāle svāmibhyaḥ pratyarpayati evaṁ tvat sakāśāt labdhān stutirūpān mantrān stuti-sādhanatayā tubhyam pratyarpayāmi* | "As a cattle-herd returns to the owners in the evening the cattle entrusted to him in the morning, so I, by the fulfilment of praise, give back to thee the laudatory hymns received from thee."

Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. Then may Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, gladden us."

In Sāyaṇa's annotations on the sixth verse, he quotes the following later story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

Rudrasya Marutām pitṛitvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jigāya | tadānīm̃ Ditir Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putram̃ kāmayamānā tapasā bhartuḥ sakāśād garbham̃ lebhe | imam̃ vṛittāntam avagachhann Indro vajra-hastaḥ san sūkshma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyāḥ udaram praviśya tam̃ garbham̃ saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikam̃ sapta-khaṇḍam akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśāḥ yoner nirgatyārudan | etasminn avasare līlārtham̃ gachhantau Pārvatī-parameśvarāv imān dadṛiśatuḥ | Maheśam prati Pārvaty evam avochat | "ime mām̃sa-khaṇḍāḥ yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evam̃ tvayā kāryam mayi chet prītir asti" iti | sa cha Maheśvaras tān samāna-rūpān samāna-vayasaḥ samānālankārān putrān kṛitvā Gauryai pradadau "taveme putrāḥ santv" iti | ataḥ sarveshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrāḥ iti stūyante Raudreshu cha Marutām pitā Rudraḥ iti |

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunberbolt in his hand, divided her fœtus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being in one part of the fœtus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, 'If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.' Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, 'Let these be thy sons.' Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts."[11]

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[11] On R.V. viii. 28, 5, Sāyaṇa has the following note: *Atra purātanī kathā | Indra-samānam putram ichhantyāḥ Aditer garbhasya kenachit kāraṇena Indreṇa saptadhā bhinnatvāt sa garbhaḥ sapta-gaṇātmako 'bhavat | tato Marutaḥ sampannāḥ |*

R.V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vaḥ pāntam̃ raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajnam̃ Rudrāya mīḷhushe bharadhvam | divo astoshi asurasya*[12] *vīrair ishudhyā iva Maruto rodasyoḥ* | "Present, ye zealous (priests), to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. I have praised him with the heroes of the divine Sky: may I (with my prayer) as it were aim at the Maruts in heaven and earth."

R.V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi shma vṛishaṉam pinvasi tvacham̃ kam̃ chid yāvīr ararum̃ śūra martyam parivṛiṉakshi martyam | Indrota tubhyam̃ tad Dive tad Rudrāya sva-yaśase | Mitrāya vocham̃ Varuṉāya saprathaḥ sumṛiḷīkāya saprathaḥ* | "Thou (Indra), who art energetic, fillest the teeming skin (the cloud?): thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this to thee, and this to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṉa abundantly, to the very gracious, abundantly."

R.V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvam̃ śardho mārutam pṛikshaḥ īśishe | tvam̃ vātair aruṉair yāsi śam̃gayas tvam Pūshā vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā* | "Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the great spirit (*asura*) of the sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of nourishment. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee."

"*sapta-gaṉāḥ vai Marutaḥ*" *iti śruteḥ* | "Regarding this there is an ancient story. The fœtus of Aditi, who desired to have a son equal to Indra, having been for some reason divided by Indra into seven parts, it became formed into seven troops. Thence the Maruts were produced. For a Vedic text says, "The Maruts are divided into seven troops." Unless the reading in the latter of these two passages is incorrect, it will be observed that the mother of the Maruts is variously represented to be Diti and Aditi. As in the first of the two texts Diti is defined as the mother of the Asuras, the reading there must be correct; and the Maruts must have been regarded by the writer as her sons. In the hymns they are said to be the sons of Rudra and Pṛiśni; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 147 f.

[12] Compare with *divo asurasya*, R.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases *Dyaur asuraḥ*, "the divine Sky," and *Divas putrāso asurasya*, "the sons of the divine Sky," occur. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for an explanation of the sense of this half verse. He holds *ishudhyā* as put for *ishudhyāni*, the 1st pers. sing. of the imperative of the root *ishudhy*. See Dr. Bollensen's article in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., "Die Lieder des Parāśara," p. 577, where other instances of the suffix *ni* being omitted in this part of the verb are given.

See above (p. 76 f.) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7. Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra:

Rud duḥkham̃ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo' si | "Rudro vai esha yad Agnir" ity ādishv Agneḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvam̃ Rudraḥ | rauti | mām anishṭvā narāḥ duḥkhe patishyanti | Rudras tādṛiśo 'si | "*Rut* means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (*rud-drāvayitā*); for Agni is intended by the word Rudra in such passages as this, 'He who is Agni is Rudra.' Or, thou art Rudra. He cries: Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra," etc.

R.V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā te pitar Marutām̃ sumnam etu mā naḥ sūryasya sam̃dṛiśo yuyothāḥ | abhi no vīro arvati kshameta pra jāyemahi Rudra prajābhiḥ |* 2. *Tvā-dattebhiḥ Rudra śam̃tamebhiḥ śatam̃ himā aśīya bheshajebhiḥ | vi asmad dvesho vitaram̃ vi am̃ho vi amīvāś chātayasva vishūchīḥ |* 3. *S'reshṭho jātasya Rudra śriyā 'si tavastamas tavasām̃ vajra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram am̃hasaḥ svasti viśvāḥ abhītīḥ rapaso yuyodhi |* 4. *Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhāma namobhir mā dushṭutī vṛishabha mā sahūtī | ud no vīrān arpaya bheshajebhir bhishaktamam̃ tvā bhishajām̃ śṛiṇomi |* 5. *Havīmabhir havate yo havirbhir ava stomebhiḥ Rudram̃ dishīya | ṛidūdaraḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhruḥ suśipro rīradhad manāyai |* 6. *Ud mā mamanda vṛishabho marutvān tvakshīyasā vayasā nādhamānam | ghṛiṇīva*[13] *chhāyām arapāḥ aśīya ā vivāseyam̃ Rudrasya sumnam |* 7. *Kva sya te Rudra mṛiḷayākur hasto yo asti bheshajo jalāshaḥ | apabhartā rapaso daivyasya abhi nu mā vṛishabha chakshamīthāḥ |* 8. *Pra babhrave vṛishabhāya śvitīche maho mahīm̃ sushṭutim īrayāmi | namasyā kalmalīkinam̃ namobhir gṛiṇīmasi tvesham̃ Rudrasya nāma*[14] 9. *Sthirebhir angair puru-rūpaḥ ugro babhruḥ śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ | īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vai u yoshad Rudrād asuryam |* 10. *Arhan bibharshi sāyakāni dhanva arhan nishkam̃ yajatam̃ viśvarūpam | arhann idam̃ dayase viśvam abhvam̃ na vai ojīyo Rudra tvad asti |*

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[13] See Dr. Bollensen's article in Benfey's Orient und Occident, ii. 474, where he says *ghṛiṇi* is a locative or instrumental. Böhtlingk and Roth judge differently. See *s.v.*

[14] Compare R.V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 87.

11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3, 4). *Stuhi śrutam̃ garta-sadam̃ yuvānam mṛigam̃ na bhīmam*[15] *upahatnum ugram | mṛiḷa jaritre Rudra stavāno anyam̃ te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ* | 12. *Kumāras chit pitaram̃ vandamānam prati nanāma Rudra upayantam | bhūrer dātāram̃ satpatim̃ griṉīshe stutas tvam bheshajā rāsi asme* | 13. *Yā vo bheshajā Marutaḥ śuchīni yā śam̃tamā vṛishaṉo yā mayobhu | yāni Manur avṛiṉīta pitā nas tā śam̃ cha yoścha Rudrasya vaśmi* | 14 (V. S. 16, 50; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 4). *Pari no hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ*[16] (*vriṉaktu*, V. S., T. S.) *pari tveshasya durmatir mahī gāt | ava sthirā maghavadbhyas tanushva mīḍhvas tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa* | 15. *Eva babhro vṛishabha chekitāna yathā deva na hṛiṉīshe na ham̃si | havana-śrud no Rudra iha bodhi brihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ* |

"1. Father of the Maruts, may thy blessing come (to us): remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and distress, and diseases, to a distance. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, O wielder of the thunderbolt. Carry us happily across our calamity: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns avert (propitiate) that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this ill will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god], attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with robust health. May I, free from injury, obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade in the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the blessing of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative? Removing the evil which comes from the gods, spare me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I joyfully send forth a great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, luminous god.

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[15] Compare similar modes of speaking about Vishṇu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., above, p. 69 and note 18.

[16] See in the note to Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 86, other instances of similar forms, apparently of the 2nd pers. sing., standing for the 3rd pers.

Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. With firm limbs, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been arrayed with bright golden (ornaments).[17] Divine power can never be removed from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, fitly, holdest arrows and a bow; fitly, thou [wearest] a glorious necklace of every form (of beauty). Fitly, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful god, mounted on his chariot, terrible as a wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts prostrate some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] O Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of heroes. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are salutary, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu desired[18]—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the impetuous [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong [bows so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. O tawny and vigorous god, so taking heed of us, as neither to be incensed against us, nor to injure us—think of us now, Rudra, hearing our invocations; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāvo na stṛibhiś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta vṛishṭayaḥ* | *Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakshaso vṛishā 'jani priśnyāḥ śukre ūdhani* | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Pṛiśni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ* | *na arātayas tam idaṁ svasti huve devaṁ Savi-*

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[17] See *śukra-piś*, Nir. viii. 11 = R.V. x. 110, 6; and Roth, Erl. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 453 f., where some remarks of Dr. Bollensen (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, xxii. 587 ff.) are quoted, in which this passage, with others, is adduced to show that images of the gods were common in the Vedic age.

[18] Compare i. 114, 2, above, pp. 302 and 304.

tāraṁ namobhiḥ | "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

In the next text, 'rudra' is merely an epithet of Agni.

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agniṁ sumnāya dadhire puro janāḥ vāja-śravasam*[19] *iha vṛikta-barhishaḥ* | *yata-sruchaḥ suruchaṁ viśva-devyaṁ rudraṁ yajnānāṁ sādhad-ishṭim apasām* | "Men, having prepared the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his blessing, placed in their front Agni, renowned for wealth, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (*rudra*), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

In the first verse of the hymn next quoted also, 'rudra' is merely an epithet of Agni. In verse 6, on the other hand, Rudra is the name of a god.

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo rājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya-yajaṁ rodasyoḥ* | *Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiraṇya-rūpam avase kṛiṇudhvam* | 6. *Kad dhishṇyāsu vṛidhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase śubhaṁye* | *parijmane nāsatyāya kshe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nṛi-ghne*[20] | (verse 7 is quoted above, p. 78). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacrifice, the invoker in both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. Wilt thou, Agni, who delightest in the altars, wilt thou declare [our sin][21] to Vāta, the energetic, the bestower of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful? Wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

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[19] This word is explained by Sāyaṇa in this place as = *manushyebhyaḥ preritānnam*, "who has sent food to men," and on R.V. vi. 35, 4, as = *vājair balair prasiddhāḥ*, "famed for force." In the Nighantus (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to *vāja*, "food," and "battle," and to *śravas* are ascribed (ii. 7, 10) the meanings "food," and "wealth." In the Nirukta iv. 24 (where R.V. iv. 38, 5, is explained), the senses "praise" or "wealth" are attributed to the latter word; in Nir. ix. 10, the sense of "praise"; in Nir. x. 3, that of "food"; and in Nir. xi. 9, that of "renown." Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *vāja* the senses (1) of "swiftness, spirit," (2) "running a race, conflict," (3) "prize of victory in a race, spoil," (4) "gain, reward, valuable possession," etc.; and explain the compound *vāja-śravas*, "contending in a race," comparing it with *vāja-sṛit*, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Sāyaṇa in R.V. ix. 43, 5, as = *sangrāma-saraṇaḥ*, "moving in battle."

Prof. Aufrecht sees no reason why *vājaśravas* should be interpreted differently from *vasuśravas*, and translates it "renowned for power or wealth," comparing *gomad vājavat śravas*, R.V. i. 9, 7; *vājāya, śravase ishe cha*, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 67, 5; iv. 36, 9; *mahi śravo vājam*, vi. 70, 5; *sa vājaṁ darshi sa iha śravo dhāḥ*, x. 69, 3; *vājam ukthyam*, x. 140, 1; *abhi vājam uta śravaḥ*, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; *vājaṁ jeshi śravo bṛihat*, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

[20] Comp. *pūrusha-ghnam* in i. 114, 10, above, p. 303.

[21] See the preceding verse.

R.V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuṉo Aryamā "yur Indraḥ Ṛibhukshāḥ Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate suvṛiktim̃ stomam̃ Rudrāya mīḷhushe sajoshāḥ* | "May Mitra, Varuṉa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhukshan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R.V. v. 42, 11.—*Tam u shtuhi yaḥ svishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya kshayati bheshajasya | yakshva mahe saumanasāya Rudram̃ namobhir devam asuram̃ duvasya* | . . . . 15. *Esha stomo mārutam̃ śardho achha Rudrasya sūnūn yuvanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādi* | "Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . . 15. May this hymn ascend to the troop of Maruts, to the sons of Rudra, who comport themselves as youths," etc.

R.V. v. 46, 2 (V.S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devāḥ no adya svastaye vaiśvānaro vasur Agniḥ svastaye | devāḥ avantu Ṛibhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu am̃hasaḥ* | "May all the gods, may Agni, the beneficent, worshipped by all men, may the divine Ṛibhus, preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from calamity."

R.V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhveshe gām̃ vochanta sūrayaḥ Pṛiśnim̃ vochanta mātaram | adha pitaram ishmiṉam̃ Rudram̃ vochanta śikvasaḥ* | "These wise and powerful [Maruts], who, when I was inquiring after their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Pṛiśni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father" (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—*Mimātu Dyaur Aditir vītaye naḥ sam̃ dānu-chitrāḥ ushaso yatantām | āchuchyavur divyam̃ kośam ete ṛishe Rudrasya Maruto griṉānāḥ* | "May Dyaus and Aditi provide for our enjoyment: may the dawns, glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, O rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down."

R.V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshṭhāso akanishṭhāsaḥ ete sam bhrātaro vāvṛidhuḥ saubhagāya | yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudraḥ eshām̃ sudughā Pṛiśniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ* | "These brothers (the Maruts), among whom there is no distinction of elder and younger (comp. R. V. v. 59, 6, where also these epithets occur), have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Pṛiśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts."

R.V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugraḥ iva śarya-hā tigma-śṛingo na vam̃sagaḥ* | *Agne puro rurojitha* | "Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles."

On this the commentator remarks: "*Rudro vai esha yad Agnir" iti śruteḥ* | *Rudra-kṛitam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛitam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate* | "For the Veda says that 'this Agni is Rudra.' It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni." Another explanation of the commentator is that Agni was present in Rudra's arrow on that occasion. All this, however, is merely said with the view of bringing the Veda into harmony with later stories.

R.V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatīḥ sūyavasam̃ riśantīḥ śuddhāḥ apaḥ suprapāṉe pibantīḥ* | *mā vaḥ stenaḥ īśata mā 'ghaśam̃saḥ pari vo hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ* | "Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you."

R.V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pitaram̃ gīrbhir ābhiḥ Rudram̃ divā vardhaya Rudram aktau* | *bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaram̃ sushumnam ṛidhag huvema kavineshitāsaḥ* | "Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, severally invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the beneficent."

R.V. vi. 50, 4.—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adya hūtāso Vasavo adhṛishṭāḥ* | *ityādi* | (verse 12 is quoted above, p. 82). "May the sons of Rudra, the irresistible Vasus (or gods), invoked to-day, stoop down to us," etc. . . . . v. 12 (translated above, p. 82).

R.V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīḷhushaḥ santi putrāḥ yām̃ś cho nu dādhṛivir bharadhyai* | *vide hi mātā maho mahī sā sā it Pṛiśniḥ subhve garbham ā adhāt* | . . . . 11. *Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-ṛishṭim̃ Rudrasya sūnum̃ havasā ā vivāse* | *ityādi* |—"Those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Pṛiśni was pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra," etc.

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethaṁ asuryam pra vām ishṭayo 'ram aśnuvantu | dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade* | 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). *Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihataṁ vishūchīm amīvā yā no gayam āviveśa | āre bādhethāṁ Nirṛitim parāchair asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu* | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). *Somā-Rudrā yuvam etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bheshajāni dhattam | ava syatam munchataṁ yad no asti tanūshu baddhaṁ kṛitam eno asmat* | 4. *Tigmāyudhau tigma-hetī suśevau Somā Rudrāv iha su mṛiḷataṁ naḥ | pra no munchataṁ Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyataṁ naḥ sumanasyamānā* | "Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you! In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive far away that disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirṛiti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour."

R.V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshāḥ Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vaha bṛihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṁ viśva-janyām Bṛihaspatim ṛikvabhir viśva-vāram* | "Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra; with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Bṛihaspati who grants all boons."

R.V. vii. 35, 6.— . . . . *Śaṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāshaḥ* . . . . "May the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante asya sakhyaṁ vayaś cha namasvinaḥ sve ṛitasya dhāman | vi priksho bābadhe nṛibhiḥ stavānaḥ idaṁ namo Rudrāya preshṭham* | "Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R.V. vii. 40, 5 (quoted and translated above, p. 85).

R.V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim* *prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitrā-Varuṇā prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema |* "In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imāḥ Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane giraḥ kshipreshave devāya svadhāvne*[22] | *ashāḷhāya sahamānāya vedhase tigmāyudhāya bharata śṛiṇotu naḥ* | 2. *Sa hi kshayeṇa kshamyasya janmanaḥ sāmrājyena divyasya chetati* | *avann avantīr upa no duraś chara anamīvo Rudra jāsu no bhava* | 3 (Nirukta x. 7).—*Yā te didyud avasṛishṭā divas pari kshmayā charati pari sā vṛiṇaktu naḥ* | *sahasraṁ te svapivāta*[23]

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[22] Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvat* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Roth assigns to *svadhām anu*, etc., the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R.V. i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7. On *svadhā* see also Prof. Müller's Transl. of the R.V., pp. 19-25.

[23] This word is not explained in the printed text of Sāyaṇa; although in the "Varietas Lectionis," appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, *svapivāta* is rendered by *jitaprāṇa*, "he by whom life (or breath) is conquered." In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by *svāpta-vachana*, "thou whose words are very suitable or authoritative." In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 135 f., Prof. Roth has some remarks on the word, which I translate: "*Svapivāta* in the Pada text is divided into *su+apivāta*, and is consequently to be derived from *api+vat*, a compound, which is often found in the R.V., viz. in vii. 3, 10, *api kratuṁ suchetasaṁ vatema*; vii. 60, 6, *api kratuṁ suchetasaṁ vatantaḥ*; i. 128, 2, *taṁ yajna-sādham api vatayāmasi*; i. 165, 13, *manmāni chitrāḥ api vātayantaḥ*; x. 25, 1, *bhadraṁ no api vātaya mano daksham uta kratum*; x. 13, 5, *pitre putrāso apy avīvatann ṛitam* | It has the signification of 'learning to understand,' 'appropriating to one's self,' and in the causal 'to teach to understand,' agreeing entirely with the Zend word of similar form, which as yet no one had been able to discover in Sanskrit. The word (*svapivāta*) thus means 'readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.' Yāska's explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by *anatikramaṇīyājna* ('thou whose command cannot be transgressed')." I have to remark, however, that if Yāska's phrase *svāpta-vachana* have the sense I have above assigned to it of "speaking with authority," (see the third vol. of this work, pp. 124, 127 f., and elsewhere) it means nearly what Durga asserts. Prof. Roth, however, must have taken it to mean "thou by whom words (prayers) are readily received, or apprehended." Otherwise it could not harmonize with the sense he regards as the right one. In his Lexicon, *s.v. vat+api*, Prof. Roth adheres to the meanings assigned to the compound verb in his "Illustrations," rendering it "to understand, comprehend," and in the causal "to cause to understand, to make comprehensible"; and assigning to the words *bhadraṁ no api vātaya manaḥ* in x. 20, 1 and x. 25, 1, the sense of "awaken in us a good sense." Prof. Aufrecht assigns to

bheshajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu rīrishaḥ | 4. *Mā no vadhīḥ Rudra mā parā dāḥ mā te bhūma prasitau hīḷitasya* | *ā no bhaja barhishi jīva-śam̃se*[24] *yūyam pata svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ* | "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. Through his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and through his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Give us a share in the sacrifice desired by the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R.V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433).—*Ke īm̃ vyaktāḥ naraḥ sanīḷāḥ Rudrasya maryāḥ adha svaśvāḥ* | 2. *Nakir hi eshām̃ janūm̃shi veda te anga vidre mitho janitram* | "Who are these brilliant heroes, the sons of Rudra, occupying the same abode, riding on excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R.V. vii. 58, 5.—*Tān ā Rudrasya mīḷhusho vivāse ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

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svapivāta the sense "possessed of great knowledge," from *su+apivāta*, "intelligence, knowledge," which again comes from *api+vat*, to which he considers that the proper meaning has been assigned by Prof. Roth. Sāyaṇa explains as follows the texts quoted above, viz. R.V. vii. 3, 10: *Apy api cha kratum karma yajnānām̃ kartāram̃ vā suchetasam̃ śobhāna-prajnāna-yuktam̃ suprajnānam putram̃ vā vatema sambhajemahi* | *vanateḥ sambhajanārthasya varṇāntarāgame sati rūpam* | "And further may we gain a rite, or a performer of sacrifices possessed of good intelligence, or a very intelligent son. *Van*, which means 'to divide' (or gain), becomes *vat* by the alteration of a letter." He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: *Api suchetasam prakṛishṭa-jnānavantam purusham kratum̃ kartāram̃ karmānushṭhānavantam̃ vatanto gachhantaḥ* | "going to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence." The verb in R.V. i. 128, 2, is thus expounded: *ā paritosham̃ sevāmahe* "we serve till we are satisfied"; and in i. 165, 13, thus: *sampūrṇam prāpayantaḥ*, "completely bringing to us"; in x. 20, 1, by *āgamaya*, "cause to come"; in x. 25, 1, by *gamaya*, "cause to go"; in x. 13, 5, by *sangamayanti*, "cause to go together."

[24] This word appears from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon to occur twice in the R.V., viz. in i. 104, 6, and the present passage. They make it a substantive, signifying "rule over the living." Benfey, in his translation of i. 104, 6, renders the word "to be praised among men." Sāyaṇa has there *kāmayitavye*, "to be desired", and here *āśam̃sanīye*, which means the same.

R.V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yahvam pratneshu dhāmasu | mano yatra vi tad dadhur vichetasaḥ* | "That great (manifestation) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)[25]] is perceived in the ancient abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds."

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasaḥ | yuvānas tathā it asat* | "As the youthful sons of Rudra, the wise deity of the sky, desire, so shall it be."

R.V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . . *Tā u namobhir īmahe* | 14. *Tāv id doshā tāv ushasi śubhas patī tā yāman rudra-vartanī*[26] | *mā no martāya ripave vājinī-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam* | "We invoke them (the Aśvins), with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible (*rudrau*) lords of swift horses,[27] abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R.V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 90).

R.V. viii. 61, 3.—*Antar ichhanti tam̃ jane rudram paro manīshayā | gṛibhṉanti jihvayā sasam*[28] | "They entreat the god (Agni), who is terrible (*rudra*) beyond all thought,[29] [to enter] among the people. With their tongue they take food (or seize him sleeping)."

R.V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta sasrāḥ nadyo mahīr apo vanaspatīn parvatān Agnim ūtaye | Kṛiśānum astṛīn Tishyam̃ sadhasthe ā Rudram̃ Rudreshu rudriyam̃ havāmahe* | "We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛiśānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, among the Rudras, and possessing their character."

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[25] Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. rudra*, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra. The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.

[26] This word *rudra-vartanī* is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare *kṛishṉavartani* and *kṛishṉādhvan* as applied to Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.

[27] This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to *vājinīvasū*. Sāyaṉa renders it by *annavasu* (R.V. v. 74, 6), *annadhana* (x. 40, 12) "rich in food." Elsewhere he also takes *vājinī* for food or oblation.

[28] This word is given in the Nighaṉṭus, 2, 7, as signifying food. Sāyaṉa takes it to mean "sleeping," and renders the last clause "men through praise sprung from their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers" (*jihvā-prabhavayā stutyā gṛibhṉanti gṛihṉanty angulibhiḥ*). See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 55 and 85 f.; also R.V. i. 51, 3 (where Benfey renders *sasena* "in sleep"); iii. 5, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7, 7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.

[29] This interpretation is confirmed by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. manīshā*, who refer to R.V. v. 17, 2, as another passage where the phrase occurs.

R.V. x. 65, 1 (quoted and translated above, p. 95).

R.V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu* | *Rudro Rudrebhir devo mṛilayāti nas Tvashṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu* | "May Indra with the Vasus preserve our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashṭri with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity."

R.V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudreṇa yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahīm aramatim̃*[30] *dadhanvire* | *yebhiḥ parijmā pariyann uru jrayo vi roruvaj jaṭhare viśvam ukshate* | . . . . 9. *Stomam̃ vo adya Rudrāya śikvase kshayad-vīrāya namasā didishṭana* | *yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhir divaḥ sishakti*[31] *sva-yaśāḥ nikāmabhiḥ* | "The waters flow [impelled] by the hastening Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, shouting god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], moistens all (that is contained) in its womb. . . . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky."

R.V. x. 93, 4.—*Te gha rājāno amṛitasya*[32] *mandrāḥ Aryamā Mitro Varuṇaḥ parijmā* | *kād Rudro nṛiṇām̃ stuto Marutaḥ Pūshaṇo Bhagaḥ* | . . . . 7. *Uta no rudrā chid mṛiḷatām Aśvinā ityādi* | "These are the kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men the Maruts, the Pūshans, and Bhaga? . . . . 7. May the terrible (*rudra*) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

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[30] This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Sāyaṇa. On ii. 38, 4, he explains it by *anuparatiḥ*, "never resting," as an epithet of Savitṛi; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of *gnā* (a goddess), *ā samantād ramamāṇām̃ sarvatra gantrīm̃ vā*, "sporting all round, or, going everywhere"; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, *uparati-rahitām*, "having no rest," as an epithet of *mahī*, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (*bhūmim*); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (*dīptiḥ*); on v. 54, 6, as *āramaṇam̃ dhanādikam*, "object of enjoyment, wealth," etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being "of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects," (*paryāpta-buddhiḥ sarva-vishaya-vyāpi-buddhir vā*) spoken of Tvashṭṛi; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to *alammatiḥ paryāpta-stutiḥ*, a god "who obtains full, or complete, worship," said of Pūshan. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 15, and x. 92, 4, 5. Böhtlingk and Roth regard Aramati in all these passages but one as designating either "readiness for service, obedience, devotion," or "as a personification of religious worship, or active piety." In viii. 31, 12, they regard it as signifying "obedient, pious." I cannot see that any of these senses except that of earth is applicable to the passage before us. Or *Aramati* may here be an epithet of the earth.

[31] From the root *sach*. See R.V. i. 18, 2; i. 56, 4; and v. 41, 20.

[32] Compare *amṛitasya gopām*, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and *amṛitasya patnīḥ*, iv. 5, 13.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A.V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi brahma-dvishe śarave hantavai u ityādi* | (Vāch?[33] speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5.— . . . . *Ugram Marudbhiḥ Rudraṁ huvema ityadi* | "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśī agniṁ keśī vishaṁ keśī bibharti rodasī* | *keśī viśvaṁ svar dṛiśe*[34] *keśī idaṁ jyotir uchyate* | 2 | *munayo vātarasanāḥ piśangā vasate malā* | *vātasyānu dhrājiṁ yanti yad devāso avikshata* | 3 | *unmaditāḥ mauneyena vātān ā tasthimā vayam* | *śarīred* (i.e. *śarīrā id*) *asmākaṁ yūyaṁ martāso abhi paśyatha* | 4 | *antariksheṉa patati viśvā rūpā 'vachākaśat* | *munir devasya devasya saukṛityāya sakhā hitaḥ* | 5 | *Vātasyāśvo Vāyoḥ sakhā atha deveshito muniḥ* | *ubhau samudrāv ā ksheti yaś cha pūrvaḥ utāparaḥ* | 6 | *apsarasāṁ gandharvāṉām mṛigāṇāṁ charaṉe charan* | *keśī ketasya vidvān sakhā svādur madintamaḥ* | 7. *Vāyur asmai upāmanthat pinashṭi sma kunannamā* | *keśī vishasya pātreṉa yad Rudreṉāpibat saha* | "The long-haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he is to the view the entire sky; he is called this light. 2. The wind-clad (*i.e.* naked) munis wear brown and soiled (garments); they follow the course of the wind, when ye, O gods, have entered (into them). 3. Transported by (our) impulses as munis, we have pursued the winds. You, O mortals, behold our bodies. 4. The muni, a friend fitted to gain the beneficent aid of every god, flies through the air, perceiving all forms. 5. The muni, impelled by the gods, the steed of the wind, the friend of Vāyu, dwells in both the oceans, the eastern and the western. 6. Moving in the path of the Apsarases, the Gandharvas, and the wild animals, the long-haired being is aware of our call, and a sweet and gladdening friend. 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (*visha*) which he drank along with Rudra."

Although but little of this hymn has reference to Rudra, I have quoted it entire on account of the interest it possesses in another respect. The first verse is explained in the Nirukta x. 26; and Prof. Roth, in his Illustrations of that work, p. 164, has the following note on the subject of the hymn: "The hymn," he says, "shows the conception that by a life of sanctity (*mauneyena*, verse 3) the muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarases, and the Gandharvas; and, furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course. Transcending even this, the verse before us says that the beautiful-haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities, does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains. Similarly in an older hymn, R. V. vii. 56, 8, an unusual power of the Muni is celebrated, when it is said of the winds: *S'ubhro vaḥ śushmaḥ krudhmī manāṁsi dhunir munir iva śardhasya dhṛishṇoḥ*, where Sāyaṇa explains the word *mananād muniḥ stotā* ('the muni, from the root "man," is one who praises'); and where the representation above given is in any case to be found in its germ."

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[33] See note 27 in p. 258 of the third vol. of this work.

[34] *Keśī idaṁ sarvam idam abhivipaśyati* | —Nir. xii. 26.

Although, in his Lexicon (see *s.v. muni*), Prof. Roth no longer adheres to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word *muni*, as applicable to the last-mentioned passage, where he thinks it may mean "pressure, crowd, impulse," he takes the same view as formerly of the hymn before us (x. 136), and defines the word muni as signifying "(one who is driven by an inward impulse), a person inspired, or in a state of ecstacy; with this conception of the word," he proceeds, "agrees what is said of the ecstacy and deification of the muni in R. V. x. 136, 2, 4, *deveshito muniḥ* ('the god-impelled muni'), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, of the Muni Aitaśa, whom his son regards as mad. *Indro munīnāṁ sakha*, 'Indra is the friend of munis,' R. V. viii. 17, 14." I subjoin the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, here referred to:

Aitaśa-pralāpaṁ śaṁsati | Aitaśo ha vai munir "Agner āyur"[25] *dadarśa yajnasya ayātayāmam iti ha eke āhuḥ | so' bravīt putrān "putrakāḥ 'Agner āyur' adarśam | tad abhilapishyāmi | yat kincha vadāmi tad me mā parigāta" iti | sa pratyapadyata "etāḥ aśvāḥ āplavante pratīpam*

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[25] The words *Agner āyur asi tasya te* occur in the Kāṭhaka, according to the list of initial words of passages given by Weber, Ind. Stud., iii. 289.

prātisutvanam" (A. V. xx. 129, 1) *iti* | *tasya Abhyagnir Aitaśāyanaḥ aitya akāle 'bhihāya mukham apyagṛihṇād* "*adṛipat naḥ pitā*" *iti* | *taṁ ha uvācha* "*apehy alaso bhūr yo me vācham avadhīḥ* | *śatāyuṁ gām akarishyaṁ sahasrāyum purusham* | *pāpishṭhāṁ te prajāṁ karomi yo mā ittham asakthāḥ*" *iti* | *tasmād āhur* "*Abhyagnayaḥ Aitaśāyanāḥ Aurvāṇām pāpishṭhāḥ*" *iti* | "He repeats the Aitaśa-pralāpa. The Muni Aitaśa beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the 'Agner āyuḥ' ('Agni's life,' etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious.[36] He said to his sons, 'Sons, I have seen "Agni's life;" and will speak of it. Do not fail to attend to[37] what I say.' He then obtained (by revelation) the verse beginning *etāḥ aśvāḥ*, etc. Abhyagni, of the family of Aitaśa, came unseasonably, and stopped his mouth, saying 'our father is mad.' His father said, 'Go, become destitute of energy,[38] thou who hast stopped my words. I should otherwise have made kine live a hundred years, and men a thousand. Since thou hast so done violence to me, I make thy offspring most degraded. Hence they say that the Abhyagnis of the family of Aitaśa are the most degraded of all the Aurvas."

Compare Professor Kuenen's remarks on the possible original sense of the Hebrew word *nabi*, "prophet," in his Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek, ii. 3, and also pp. 16 (note 3), and 19 (note 6).

The allusion in the 7th verse of the hymn before us to Rudra drinking water (*visha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking posion (*visha*).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatīr oshadhīr āriśantām* | *pīvasvatīr jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate*[39] *Rudra mṛiḷa* | "May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink (waters) rich and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our walking sources of food" (compare vi. 28, 7, above, p. 312).

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[36] Prof. Haug renders *ayātayāmam*, "which should remove all defects from the sacrifice"; and Prof. Weber, who, in his review of Dr. Haug's translation, Indische Studien, ix. 177 ff., dissents from many of the translator's renderings, expresses here no difference of opinion, see p. 304.

[37] Weber here differs from Haug's rendering of *parigāta* by "do not scorn me," and translates *übergehet* (*überhöret mir dies nicht*) *was ich auch sagen mag*, which is also the sense assigned in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon; and has been given by me.

[38] Haug translates, "Become infected with leprosy"; Weber, "become destitute of energy."

[39] *Pavad avasaṁ gāvaḥ* | —Nir. i. 17.

SECT. II.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-Veda.*

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā tam̃ jushasva svāhā* | *esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ ākhus te paśuḥ*[40] | 58. *Ava Rudram adīmahy ava devam tryambakam* | *yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt* | 59. *Bheshajam asi bheshajam̃ gave 'śvāya purushāya bheshajam* | *sukham meshāya meshyai* | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). *Tryambakam̃ yajāmahe sugandhim pushṭi-vardhanam* | *urvārukam iva bandhanād mṛityor mukshīya mā 'mṛitāt* | *tryambakam̃ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam*[41] | *urvārukam iva bandhanād ito mukshīya mā 'mutaḥ* | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2). *Etat te Rudra avasam̃ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi* | *avatata-dhanvā pinākāvasaḥ kṛitti-vāsāḥ ahim̃san naḥ śivo 'tīhi* | 62. *Tryāyusham̃ Jamadagneḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyusham* | *yad deveshu tryāyusham̃ tad no astu tryāyusham* | 63. *S'ivo nāmā 'si svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā him̃sīḥ* | *nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya prajananāya rāyasposhāya suprajāstvāya suvīryāya* |

"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhā*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka,[42] that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of prosperity. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from death, not [severed] from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who bestows on us husbands.[42*] Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not [severed] from that [world]. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, and concealed from view, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.[43] 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śiva*) by name; the thunderbolt[44] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I clip thy hair, thee [O sacrificer], that thou mayest live, have food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess."[45]

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[40] The Taittirīya Br. i. 6, 10, 4, has only the first part of this verse: *Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā*: then follow the words: *ity āha* | *S'arad vai asya Ambikā svasā* | *tayā vai esha hinasti* | "He says, 'This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā.' His sister Ambikā is the autumn; with her he smites (or kills)," etc. The commentator on the passage before us (of the Vāj. S.) says in reference to this that Ambikā kills by taking the form of Autumn, and producing diseases, etc. (*S'arad-rūpam prāpya jar-* [qu. ? *jvar-*] *ādikam utpādya tam̃ nirodhinam̃ hanti*).

[41] Compare *patividya*, "the acquisition of a wife," in Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7.

[42] S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāma asya svasā* | *tayā 'sya esha saha bhāgah* | *tad yad asya esha striyā saha bhāgas tasmāt Tryambako nāma* | "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*strī*), he is called Tryambaka" (*i.e.* Stryambaka).

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous S'atarudriya, a prayer, which is referred to in three passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata, pp. 186, 193, and 199. It is translated and annotated by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 32 ff. The text there translated, and which is given in the preceding pp. 26 ff., is that of the Upanishad bearing the name of S'atarudriya.

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi. 1 ff. (=Taitt. S. iv. 5, 1, 1 ff.).—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishave namaḥ*[46] | *bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ* | 2. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghorā 'pāpa-kāśinī* | *tayā nas tanvā* (*tanuvā*, T. S.) *śantamayā griśantābhichākaśīhi* | 3. *Yām ishuṁ giriśanta haste bibharshi astave* | *śivāṁ giritra tāṁ kuru mā hiṁsīḥ purushaṁ jagat* | 4. *S'ivena vachasā tvā giriśāchha vadāmasi* | *yathā naḥ sarvam ij jagad ayakshmaṁ sumanāḥ*[47] *asat* | 5. *Adhy avochad adhivaktā prathamo daivyo bhishak* | *ahīṁścha sarvān jambhayan sarvāścha yātudhānyo 'dharāchīḥ parāsuva*[48] | 6. *Asau yas tāmro aruṇaḥ uta babhruḥ sumangalaḥ* | *ye chainaṁ Rudrāḥ abhito dikshu śritāḥ sahasraśo 'vaishāṁ heḍaḥ īmahe* | 7. *Asau yo 'vasar-*

[42*] This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire.

[43] See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 f.,

[44] Such is the sense assigned to *svadhiti*

[45] The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivārtayāmy āyushe*, etc., by "I shave thee that thou mayest live," etc.

[46] The Taitt. S. inserts here *namas te astu dhanvane*, "reverence be to thy bow."

[47] *Sumanaḥ-s'abde puṁstvam ārsham* | Comm.

[48] These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.

pati nīlagrīvo vilohitaḥ | *utainam̃ gopāḥ adṛiśrann adṛiśrann udahāryaḥ*[49] *sa dṛishṭo mṛiḍayāti naḥ* | 8. *Namo 'stu nīla-grivāya sahasrākshāya mīḍhushe* | *atho ye asya satvāno aham̃ tebhyo' karam̃ namaḥ* | 9. *Pramuncha dhanvanas tvam ubhayor ārtnyor jyām* | *yāścha te haste ishavaḥ parā tā bhagavo vapa*[50] | 10. *Vijyam̃ dhanuḥ kapardino viśalyo bāṉavān uta* | *aneśann asya yāḥ ishavaḥ ābhur asya nishangadhiḥ* [*–thiḥ*, T. S.] | 11. *Yā te hetir mīḍhushṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ* | *tayā 'smān viśvatas tvam ayakshmayā pari bhuja*[51] | 12. *Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛiṉaktu viśvataḥ* | *atho yaḥ ishudhis tava āre asmad nidhehi tam* | 13. *Avatatya dhanush ṭvam̃ sahasrāksha śateshudhe* | *niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śivo naḥ sumanāḥ bhava* | 14. *Namas te āyudhāya anātatāya dhṛishṉave* | *ubhābhyām uta te namo bāhubhyām̃ tava dhanvane* | 15 and 16 (=R.V. i. 114, 7, 8, see above p. 303). 17. *Namo hiraṉyabāhave senānye diśāncha pataye namo namo vṛikshebhyo harikeśebhyaḥ paśūnām pataye namo namaḥ śashpinjarāya trishīmate pathīnām pataye namo namo harikeśāya upavītine pushṭānām pataye namaḥ* | 18. *Namo babhluśāya vyādhine 'nnānām pataye namo namo Bhavasya hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo Rudrāya ātatāyine* (*ātatāvine*, T. S.) *kshetrāṉām pataye namo namaḥ sūtāya ahantyai* (*ahantyāya*, T. S.) *vanānām pataye namaḥ* | 19. *Namo rohitāya sthapataye vṛikshāṉām pataye namo namo bhuvantaye vārivaskṛitāya oshadhīnām pataye namo namo mantriṉe vāṉijāya kakshāṉām pataye namo namo uchchairghoshāya ākrandayate pattīnām pataye namaḥ* | 20. *Namaḥ kṛitsnāyatayā* (*kṛitsnavītāya*, T. S.) *dhārate satvanām pataye namo namaḥ sahamānāya nivyādhine āvyādhinīnām pataye namo namo nishangiṉe kakubhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya araṉyānām pataye namaḥ* | 21. *Namo vanchate parivanchate stāyūnām pataye namo namo nishangine ishudhimate taskarāṉām pataye namo namaḥ sṛikāyibhyo* (*sṛikāvibhyo*, T. S.) *jighām̃sadbhyo mushṉatām pataye namo namo 'simadbhyo naktam̃ charadbhyo vikṛintānām* (*prakṛintānām*, T. S.) *pataye namaḥ* | 22. *Namaḥ ushṉīshine giricharāya kulunchānām pataye namo namaḥ ishumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaścha vo namo namaḥ ātanvānebhyo pratidadhānebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ āyachhadbhyo 'syadbhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 23. *Namo visṛijadbhyo vidhyadbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ*

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[49] The Taitt. S. adds here *utainam̃ viśvā bhūtāni*, "and all beings have seen him."

[50] The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vāj. S.

[51] The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.

svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śayānebhyaḥ āsīnebhyaścha vo namo namas tishṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 24. *Namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyaścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'śvapatibhyaścha vo namo namaḥ āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyaścha vo namo namaḥ ugaṉāgbhyas triṁhatībhyaś cha vo namaḥ* | 25. *Namo gaṉebhyo gaṉapatibhyaścha vo namo namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaśchá vo namo namo gṛitsebhyo gṛitsapatibhyaścha vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 26. *Namaḥ senābhyaḥ senānibhyaścha vo namo namo rathibhyo 'rathebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kshattṛibhyaḥ sangrahītṛibhyaścha vo namo namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaścha* (*kshullakebhyaś cha*, T. S) *vo namaḥ*| 27. *Namas takshabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kulālebhyaḥ karmārebhyaścha vo namo namo nishādebhyaḥ punjishṭhebhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śvanibhyo mṛigayubhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 28. *Namaḥ śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaścha namo Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ S'arvāya cha Paśupataye cha namo nīlagrīvaya cha śitikaṉṭhāya cha* | 29. *Namaḥ kapardine cha vyupta-keśāya cha namaḥ sahasrākshāya cha śatadhanvane cha namo giriśayāya* (*giriśāya*, T. S.) *cha śipivishṭāya cha namo mīḍhushṭamāya cha ishumate cha* | 30. *Namo hrasvāya cha vāmanāya cha namo bṛihate cha varshīyase cha namo vṛiddhāya cha savṛidhe* (*saṁvṛidhvane*, T. S.) *cha namo 'gryāya prathamāya cha* | 31. *Namaḥ āśave cha ajirāya cha namaḥ śīghryāya* (*śīghriyāya*, T.S.) *cha śībhyāya cha namaḥ ūrmyāya cha avasvanyāya cha namo nādeyāya* (*srotasyāya*, T.S.) *cha dvīpyāya cha* | 32. *Namo jyeshṭhāya cha kanishṭhāya cha namaḥ pūrvajāya cha aparajāya cha namo madhyamāya cha apagalbhāya cha namo jaghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha* | 33. *Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisaryāya cha namo yāmyāya cha kshemyāya cha namaḥ ślokyāya cha avasānyāya cha nama urvaryāya cha khalyāya cha* | 34. *Namo vanyāya cha kakshyāya cha namaḥ śravāya cha pratiśravāya cha namaḥ āśushenāya cha āśurathāya cha namaḥ śūrāya cha avabhedine* (*avabhindate*, T. S.) *cha* | 35. *Namo bilmine cha kavachine cha namo varmiṉe cha varūthine cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha namo dundubhyāya cha āhananyāya cha* | 36. *Namo dhṛishṉave cha pramṛiśāya cha*[52] *namo nishangiṉe cha ishudhimate cha namas tīkshṉeshave cha āyudhine cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sudhanvane cha* | 37. *Namaḥ srutyāya cha pathyāya cha namaḥ kūṭyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya cha sarasyāya cha namo nādeyāya* (*nādyāya*, T. S.) *cha vaiśantāya cha* | 38. *Namaḥ kūpyāya cha avaṭyāya cha namo vīdhryāya cha ātapyāya namo meghyāya cha*

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[52] The T. S. adds here *namo dūtaya cha prahitāya cha.*

vidyutyāya cha namo varshyāya cha avarshyāya cha | 39. *Namo vātyāya cha reshmyāya* (*reshmiyāya*, T. S.) *cha namo vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya cha Rudrāya cha namas tāmrāya cha aruṉāya cha* | 40. *Namaḥ śangave* (*śangāya*, T. S.) *paśupataye cha namaḥ ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha namo agrevadhāya cha dūrevadhāya cha namo hantre cha hanīyase cha namo vṛikshebhyo hari-keśebhyo namas tārāya* | 41. *Namaḥ śambhavāya* (*śambhave*, T. S.) *cha mayobhavāya* (*mayobhave*, T. S.) *cha namaḥ śankarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha* | 42. *Namaḥ pāryāya cha avāryāya cha namaḥ prataraṉāya cha uttaraṉāya cha*[53] *namas tīrthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śashpyāya phenyāya cha* | 43. *Namaḥ sikatyāya cha pravāhyāya cha namaḥ kiṁśilāya cha kshayaṉāya cha namaḥ kapardine cha pulastaye cha namaḥ iriṉyāya cha prapathyāya cha* | 44. *Namo vrajyāya* (*gṛihyāya*, T. S.) *cha goshṭhyāya cha namas talpyāya cha gehyāya cha namo hṛidayyāya* (*hradayyāya*, T. S.) *cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kūṭyāya cha gahvareshṭhāya cha* | 45. *Namaḥ śushkyāya cha harityāya cha namaḥ pāṁsavyāya cha rajasyāya cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha namaḥ ūrvyāya cha sūrvyāya* (*sūrmyāya*, T. S.) *cha* | 46. *Namaḥ parṉāya* (*parṉyāya*, T. S.) *cha parṉaśadāya cha namaḥ udguramāṉāya* (*apaguramāṉāya*, T. S.) *cha abhighnate cha nama ākhidate cha prakhidate cha namaḥ ishukṛidbhyo dhanushkṛidbhyaś cha vo namo namo vaḥ kirikebhyo devānāṁ hṛidayebhyo namo vichinvatkebhyo namo vikshiṉatkebhyo* (*vikshīṉakebhyo*, T. S.) *namaḥ ānirhatebhyaḥ*[54] | 47. *Drāpe andhasaspate daridra* (*daridran*, T. S.) *nīlalohita* | *āsām prajānām eshām paśūnām mā bher mā roṇ mo cha naḥ kinchanāmamat* | 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūḥ śivā viśvāhā bheshajī* | *śivā rutasya bheshajī tayā no mṛiḍa jīvase* | 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14[55]). 51. *Mīḍhushṭama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanāḥ bhava* | *parame vṛikshe āyudhaṁ nidhāya kṛittiṁ vasānaḥ āchara pinākam bibhrad āgahi* | 52. *Vikiridra* (*vikirida*, T.S.) *vilohita namas te astu bhagavaḥ* | *yās te sahasraṁ hetayo 'nyam asmad nivapantu tāḥ* | 53. *Sahasrāṉi sahasraśo* (*sahasradhā*, T. S.) *bāhvos* (*bāhuvos*, T. S.) *tava hetayaḥ* | *tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ parāchīnā mukhā kṛidhi* | 54. *Asankhyātā sahasrāṉi* (*sahasrāṉi*

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[53] The T. S. here adds, *namaḥ ātāryāya cha ālaṭyāya cha.*

[54] The T. S. here adds, *namaḥ āmīvatkebhyaḥ.*

[55] Instead of *mahī gāt*, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it stands in the R.V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghāyoḥ*, "of the malicious." The T. S. introduces here verses corresponding to those in R.V. i. 114, 2, 7, 8, 10; ii. 33, 11, 14.

sahasraśo, T. S.) *ye Rūdrāḥ adhi bhūmyām* | *teshām̃ sahasra-yojane ava dhanvāni tanmasi* | 55. *Asmin mahaty arṇave antarikshe Bhavāḥ adhi* | *teshām ityādi* | 56. *Nīlagrīvāḥ śitikaṇṭhāḥ divam̃ Rudrāḥ upāśritāḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 57. *Nīlagrivāḥ śitikaṇṭhāḥ S'arvāḥ adhaḥ kshamācharāḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 58. *Ye vṛiksheshu śashpinjarāḥ nīlagrīvāḥ vilohitāḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 59. *Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kapardinaḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 60. *Ye pathām pathirakshasaḥ* (*pathirakshayaḥ*, T. S.) *ailabṛidāḥ āyuryudhaḥ* (*yavyudhaḥ*, T. S.) | *teshām ityādi* | 61. *Ye tīrthāni pracharanti sṛikāhastāḥ* (*sṛikāvanto*, T. S.) *nishanginaḥ* | *teshām ityādi* | 62. *Ye anneshu vividhyanti pātreshu pibato janān* | *teshām ityādi* | 63. *Ye etāvantaścha bhūyām̃sas cha diśo Rudrāḥ vitasthire* | *teshām̃ ityādi* | 64. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshām̃*[56] *varsham ishavaḥ* | *tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa dakshiṇāḥ dāśa pratīchīr daśa udīchir daśa ūrdhvāḥ* | *tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mṛiḍayantu te yam̃ dvishmo yaś cha no dveshṭi tam eshām̃* (*vo*, T. S.) *jambhe dadhmaḥ* (*dadhāmi*, T. S.) 65. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye antarikshe yeshām̃ vātaḥ ishavaḥ* | *tebhyo daśa ityādi* | 66. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye pṛithivyam̃ yeshām annam ishavaḥ* | *tebhyo daśa ityādi* |

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that blessed body of thine which is auspicious, not terrible,[57] and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, O dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, O lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. The deliverer, the first divine physician, hath interposed for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānīs (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water[58] have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, O divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. His arrows have perished, and his sword-sheath is empty. 11. That shaft, O most bountiful, that bow which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, O thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the points of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8. See above, p. 304.) 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,[59] who is yellow like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the full-fed, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the innoxious charioteer, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being who stretches out the worlds, who affords deliverance, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of foot-soldiers who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of armies which wound, to the towering wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves,[60] to the robber, to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with thunderbolts, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who wears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, and to the goddesses who have excellent troops, and who are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the companies, and to you the lords of companies, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the charioteers, and to you the drivers of horses, to you the great, and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjisṭhhas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava,[61] and to Rudra, and to S'arva, to Paśupati, to Nīlagrīva, and to

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[56] The T. S. inserts here the words *annam̃ vāto*.

[57] Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 204, near the foot.

[58] "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites" (*Vedokta-sam̃skāra-hīnāḥ*).—Comm.

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[59] This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant "the lord of sacrificial victims."

[60] On this the Commentator has the following apologetic remarks: *Rudro līlayā chorādi-rūpaṁ dhatte | yadvā Rudrasya jagad-ātmakatvāch chorādayo Rudrāḥ eva dheyāḥ | yadvā stenādi-śarīre jīveśvara-rūpeṇa Rudro dvidhā tishṭhati | tatra jīva-rūpaṁ stenādi-śabda-vāchyaṁ | tad īśvara-rudra-rūpaṁ lakshayati | yathā śākhāgraṁ chandrasya lakshakam | kim bahunā | lakshyārtha-vivakshayā mantreshu laukikāḥ śabdaḥ prayuktāḥ |* "Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and such like persons. Or, since Rudra is the soul of the world, thieves, etc., are to be thought of as being Rudras. Or, Rudra abides in two ways, as life and as lord, in the bodies of thieves, etc. Then his character as life is denoted by the words thieves, etc.; and that points to his character as Rudra the lord, just as the end of a branch points to the moon. But why enlarge further? Common words are employed in the sacred texts to intimate the sense which is pointed to."

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[61] Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the S'ata-rudriya in his Indische Studien, ii. 37: "Bhava is variously explained, sometimes as the 'existent,' 'eternal' (*bhavaty eva na kadāchid api na bhavati*), sometimes as the producer of everything (*bhavaty asmin sarvam*), so that according to the latter explanation he is the exact opposite of 'S'arva,' the destroyer: and possibly the term (Bhava) has been formed with the view of propitiating the terrible god by a favourable name. When both words appear in verses 55 and 57 as additional names of the Rudras, they are no doubt transferred to them from their master, since the name Bhava in particular will not apply well to them. According to the S'atap. Br. i. 7, 38 (dating certainly from a period when Rudra had already been identified with Agni), both words (see also Ind. St. i. 132, 140) are appellations of Agni,—Bhava being that which was usual among the Bāhīkas, and S'arva the one prevailing among the Prāchyas (and so among the Kośala-videhas, for example). As we meet with the word S'arva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Fargard x., p. 342." (S'aurva in the Zend, see Spiegel's translation, p. 176, and his Commentary, i., p. 285, and Justi's Handbuch *s.v.*) "we should rather have expected that S'arva would have

Sitikanṭha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to S'ipivishta,[62] to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to him who abides in the swift, and in the flowing waters, and to him who dwells in billows, and in tranquil waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown, to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?), to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmeted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the assailant, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways, and roads, and rough (or desert) places, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, (40) to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in

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been the name current among the Bāhīkas. It is difficult to decide whether both appellations actually belonged at first to Agni, and not to Rudra. But, generally speaking, the contrary appears to me to be more credible, because in the hymns of the Rig-veda a peaceful, and not a destructive, character is predominatingly ascribed to Agni. Further, both words are brought directly into connexion with the lightning in A.V. x. 1. *Bhavāśarvau asyatām pāpakṛite devahetim.*" This text is quoted a few pages further on.

[62] R.V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 86–88, and Appendix on p. 88.

front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śankarāya*), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and fro, to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable[63] places, to the god with spirally-braided hair, to him with smooth hair,[64] who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in rough (or desert) places, who abides in abysses, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in the earth and deep under the earth. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to him who is in the fall of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods,[65] to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,[66] who art blue and red, do not crush, do not destroy[67] these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14. See above, p. 309). 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest [or, highest] tree, approach, clad in a skin,[68] come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who avertest wounds [or, shootest arrows], and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. S'arvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those [deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and of those whose hair is spirally-braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment, who fight for life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, with weapons in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky,[69] of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,[70] ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc."

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[63] Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

[64] This is the rendering of Böhtlingk and Roth. See Weber's Ind. Stud., ii. 41, note. The Commentator on the Vāj. S. gives the following alternative explanation: *Pulastaye agre tishṭhati pulastiḥ . . . . yadvā pūrshu śarīreshu astiḥ sattā yasya sa pulastiḥ sarvāntaryāmī* |

[65] Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya are meant, according to the Commentator, and the S'atap. Br. ix. 1, 1, 23.

[66] *Daridra*. The Commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho 'dvitīyatvāt*). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

[67] *Mā bher mā rok*. See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. ruj*, where *bheḥ* is said to come from *bhid*, not *bhī*.

[68] See V. S. 3, 61, above, p. 322.

Many of the epithets in this S'atarudriya are not found in other books; and it is difficult, and perhaps of little importance, to discover their real sense. Others, as the reader will have observed, are of the most fantastic character.

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[69] The T. S. inserts here, "whose food is the wind."

[70] *Prāgabhimukhāḥ angulīḥ kurve iti śeshaḥ* | . . . . *añjalim baddhvā sarva-dikshu namaskaromi* | Comm.

SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, S'arva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nīla-śikhaṇḍa karma-kṛit | prāśam pratiprāśo jahi arasām̃ kṛiṉu oshadhe |* "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of works, destroy the food of him who seeks to take ours; make it savourless, O plant!"

A. V. iv. 28, 1.—*Bhavā-S'arvau manve vām asya vittam̃ yayor vām idam pradiśi yad virochate | yāv asyeśāthe dvipado yau chatushpadas tau no munchatam am̃hasaḥ | 2. yayor abhyadhve uta yad dūre chid yau viditāv ishubhṛitām asishṭhau | yāv—— | 3. sahasrākshau vṛitrahaṇā huve 'ham̃ dūregavyūtī stuvann emy ugrau | yāv—— | 4. yāv ārebhāte bahu sākam agre pra ched asrāshṭam abhibhām̃ janeshu | yāv—— | 5. yayor vadhād nāpapadyate kaśchana antar deveshūta mānusheshu | yāv—— | 6. yaḥ kṛityā-kṛid mūla-kṛid yātudhāno ni tasmin dhattam̃ vajram ugrau | yāv—— | 7. adhi no brūtam pṛitanāsu ugrau sam̃ vajreṉa sṛijatam yaḥ kimīdī[71] | staumi Bhavā-S'arvau nāthito johavīmi tau no munchatam am̃hasaḥ |*

1. "O Bhava and S'arva, I reverence you; have regard to this (your worshipper), ye under whose control is all this which shines: ye who are lords of this two-footed and four-footed (creation), free us from calamity. 2. Ye to whom belongs all that is near and even all that is remote, who are known as the most skilful shooters among all archers: ye who are lords, etc. (as in v. 1). 3. Ye thousand-eyed slayers of enemies, I invoke you; I go on praising you, ye fierce gods, whose domain extends far and wide: ye who are lords, etc. 4. Ye who, united, performed many (exploits) of old, who manifested ill omens among men: ye who are lords, etc. 5. Ye from whose destroying stroke no one either among gods or men escapes: ye who are lords, etc. 6. Fierce gods, launch your thunderbolt against the Yātudhāna, who practises sorcery, and prepares roots (for that purpose): ye who are lords, etc. 7. Fierce gods, take our side in battles, smite with the thunderbolt him who is a goblin. I praise you, Bhava and S'arva; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity."

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[71] Yāska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: *Kim idānīm iti charate kim idam̃ kim idam iti vā piśunāya charate |*

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrāḥ Marutaḥ Priśni-mātaraḥ Indreṇa yujā pra mriṇīta śatrūn | Somo rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādevaḥ uta mrityur Indraḥ |* "Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Priśni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. (May) king Soma, king Varuṇa, and Indra, who is a great god and death, (do the same)." [This verse is from a martial hymn addressed to the Dundubhi or drum, which in verses 4–6 is besought to terrify the poet's enemies, as the sight of a man frightens wild animals, a wolf goats and sheep, and a hawk smaller birds. 4. *Yathā mrigāḥ saṁvijante āraṇyāḥ purushād adhi |* . . . . 5. *Yathā vrikād ajāvayo dhāvanti bahu bibhyatīḥ |* . . . . 6. *Yathā śyenāt patatriṇaḥ saṁvijante ahar divi.* . . . .]

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo Mrityur aghamāro nirṛitho babhruḥ S'arvo 'stā nīla-śikhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthivāṁsas te asmākam pari vrinjantu vīrān |* 2. *Manasā homair harasā ghritena S'arvāyāstre uta rājne Bhavāya | namasyebhyo namaḥ ebhyaḥ kriṇomy anyatra asmad aghavishā nayantu |* "May Yama, Death, who brings dire destruction, may the Destroyer, may tawny S'arva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire, with butter, I offer reverence to S'arva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us."

In A. V. vi. 141, 1, Rudra is mentioned along with Vāyu, Tvashṭri, and Indra (*Rudro bhūmne chikitsatu*).

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apsv antar yaḥ oshadhīr vīrudhaḥ āviveśa | yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni chāklṛipe tasmai Rudrāya namo astv Agnaye |* "Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these creatures."

A. V. viii. 2, 7.— . . . . *Bhavā-śarvau mriḍataṁ śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritaṁ dhattam āyuḥ |* . . . . . "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life."[72]

A. V. viii. 5, 10.—*Asmai maṇiṁ varma badhnantu devāḥ Indro Vishṇuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi |* "May the gods, Indra, Vishṇu, Savitri, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection," etc.

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[72] See the translation of the entire hymn, in which this half verse occurs, in the fifth volume of this work, p. 446 ff.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitraś cha Varuṉaś cha am̃sau Tvashṭā cha Aryamā cha doshaṉī Mahādevo bāhū* | "Mitra and Varuṉa are the shoulders, Tvashṭṛi and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms"

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-śarvāu asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityā-kṛite dushkṛite vidyutam̃ deva-hetim* | "Let Bhava and S'arva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer." (See Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-S'arvau mṛiḍatam mā 'bhiyātam bhūta-patī paśu-patī namo vām* | *pratihitām āyatām mā vi srāshṭam mā no him̃sishṭam̃ dvipado mā chatushpadaḥ* | 2. *S'une kroshṭre mā śarīrāṉi kartam aliklavebhyo gṛidhrebhyo ye cha kṛishṉāḥ avishyavaḥ* | *makshikās te Paśupate vayām̃si te vighase mā vidanta* | 3. *Krandāya te prāṉāya yāś cha te Bhava ropayaḥ* | *namas te Rudra kṛiṉmaḥ sahasrākshāya amartya* | 4. *Purastāt te namaḥ kṛiṉmaḥ uttarād adharād uta* | *abhīvargād divas pari antarikshāya te namaḥ* | 5. *Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chakshūm̃shi te Bhava* | *tvache rūpāya sam̃dṛiśe pratīchīnāya te namaḥ* | 6. *Angebhyas te udarāya jihvāyai āsyāya te* | *dadbhyo gandhāya te namaḥ* | 7. *Astrā nīla-śikhaṉḍena sahasrāksheṉa vājinā* | *Rudreṉārdhaka-ghātinā tena mā samarāmahi* | 8. *Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vṛiṉaktu viśvataḥ āpaḥ*[73] *ivāgniḥ pari vṛiṉaktu no Bhavaḥ* | *mā no 'bhi mām̃sta namo astv asmai* | 9. *Chatur namo ashṭakṛitvo Bhavāya daśa kṛitvaḥ Paśupate namas te* | *taveme pancha paśavo vibhaktāḥ gāvo aśvāḥ purushāḥ ajāvayaḥ* | 10. *Tava chatasraḥ pradiśas tava dyaus tava pṛithivī tavedam ugrorv antariksham* | *tavedam̃ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṉat pṛithivīm anu* | 11. *Uruḥ kośo vasudhānas tavāyam̃ yasminn imā viśvā bhuvanāny antaḥ* | *sa no mṛiḍa Paśupate namas te paraḥ kroshṭāro abhibhāḥ śvānaḥ paro yantv agharudo vikeśyaḥ* | 12. *Dhanur bibharshi haritam̃ hiraṉyayam̃ sahasra-ghnim̃ śata-vadham̃ śikhaṉḍin* | *Rudrasyeshuś charati deva-hetis tasyai namo yatamasyām̃ diśītaḥ* | 13. *Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate tvām̃ Rudra nichikīrshati* | *paśchād anu prayunkshe tam̃ viddhasya pada-nīr iva* | 14. *Bhavā-rudrau sayujā samvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya* | *tābhyām̃ namo yatamasyām̃ diśītaḥ* | 15. *Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate* | *namas te Rudra tishṭhate āsīnāyota te namaḥ* | 16. *Namaḥ sāyam̃ namaḥ prātar namo rātryā namo divā* | *Bhavāya cha S'arvāya cha ubhābhyām akaram̃ namaḥ* |

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[73] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v., p. 1003, several passages are quoted where *āpaḥ* (with a long *ā* in the first syllable) occurs as an accusative plural.

17. *Sahasrāksham atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaśchitam* | *mā upārāma jihvayā īyamānam* | 18. *S'yāvāśvaṁ kṛishṉam asitam mṛiṉantam bhīmaṁ ratham keśinaḥ pādayantam* | *pūrve pratīmo namo astu asmai* | 19. *Mā no 'bhi srāḥ matyaṁ deva-hetim mā naḥ krudhaḥ Paśupate namas te* | *anyatra asmad divyāṁ śākhāṁ vi dhūnu* | 20. *Mā no hiṁsīr adhi no brūhi pari no vṛindhi mā krudhaḥ* | *ma tvayā samarāmahi* | 21. *Mā no goshu purusheshu mā gṛidho no ajāvishu* | *anyatrogra vi vartaya piyārūṉām prajām jahi* | 22. *Yasya takmā kāsikā hetir ekam aśvasyeva vṛishaṉaḥ krandaḥ eti* | *abhipūrvaṁ nirṉayate namo astv asmai* | 23. *Yo antarikshe tishṭhati vishṭabhito ayajvanaḥ pramṛiṉan deva-pīyūn* | *tasmai namo daśabhiḥ śakvarībhiḥ* | 24. *Tubhyam āraṉyāḥ paśavo mṛigāḥ vane hitāḥ haṁsāḥ suparṉāḥ śakunāḥ vayāṁsi* | *tava yaksham Paśupate apsv antas tubhyaṁ ksharanti divyāḥ āpo vṛidhe* | 25. *Siṁśumārāḥ ajagarāḥ purīkayāḥ jashāḥ matsyāḥ rajasāḥ yebhyo asyasi* | *na te dūraṁ na parishṭhā 'sti te Bhava sadyaḥ sarvām pari paśyasi bhūmim pūrvasmād haṁsy uttarasmin samudre* | 26. *Mā no Rudra takmanā mā visheṉa mā naḥ saṁ srāḥ divyenāgninā* | *anyatrāsmad vidyutam pātayaitām* | 27. *Bhavo divo Bhavaḥ īśe pṛithivyāḥ Bhavaḥ ā papre uru antariksham* | *tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ diśītaḥ* | 28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛiḍa paśūnāṁ hi paśupatir babhūtha* | *yaḥ śraddadhāti santi devāḥ iti chatushpade dvipade asya mṛiḍa* | 29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā no vahantam uta mā no vakshyataḥ* | *mā no hiṁsīḥ pitaram mātaraṁ cha svāṁ tanvaṁ Rudra mā rīrisho naḥ* | 30. *Rudrasyailaba-kārebhyo 'saṁsūkta-gilebhyaḥ* | *idam mahāsyebhyaḥ śvabhyo akaraṁ namaḥ* | 31. *Namas te ghoshiṉībhyo namas te keśinībhyaḥ* | *namo namaskṛitābhyo namaḥ sambhunjatībhyaḥ* | *namas te deva senābhyaḥ svasti no abhayaṁ cha naḥ* |

1. "Bhava and S'arva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts [see v. 9]; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from above, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament.

5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the warrior, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka.[74] 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine arė these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra [or fierce god], are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy storehouse of thine, within which all these beings are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, [a weapon] which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it in whatever direction from hence [it flies]. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who lurks and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man tracking the steps[75] of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be to them twain in whatever direction they are from hence. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who rushes on, ṭhousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has brown horses, is dark, black, destroying, terrible, who casts down the car of Keśin (the long-haired being)[76]: reverence be to him. 19. Do

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[74] Rudra is elsewhere said to be the slayer of Andhaka or Antaka. See Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇya Kāṇḍa 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.

[75] Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *pada-nī* the sense of "guide."

[76] Böhtlingk and Roth make *keśin* an epithet of Rudra: see *s.v.*

not hurl at us thy club,[77] thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial weapon[78] over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; interpose for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself [or, turn thy chariot] elsewhere; slay the offspring of the malignant. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who carries away [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten śakvarī verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, swans, and various well-winged birds[79] are placed in the forest; thy living creatures, Paśupati, exist in the waters: to delight thee the celestial waters flow. 25. (There exist) porpoises, great serpents, purīkayas, sea-monsters, fishes, rajasas,[79a] at which thou shootest. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled[80] the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him in whatever direction from hence [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.[81] 29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who is growing nor those who are to grow,[82] neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, O deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, reverenced, devouring hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

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[77] A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Tṛiṇeḍhu enān matyam Bhavasya* | "May the club of Bhava crush them."

[78] The word in the original is *śākhā*, "branch."

[79] In the original, *suparṇāḥ śakunāḥ vayāṁsi.*

[79a] B. and R. say this word perhaps means "unclean."

[80] Compare R.V. i. 52, 13, p. 99, above; and the other passages quoted in note 73 on the same page.

[81] Compare R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 254.

[82] Compare R.V. i. 114, 7, and T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2, p. 303, above. In Professor Wilson's Dictionary I find the sense of "growing" assigned to the root *vah*, when conjugated in the *ātmane pada* with a nasal, *vaṁhate.* He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly *bah, baṁhate.* If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, I have adopted in the parallel text of the Rigveda.

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavā-śarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | ishūr yāḥ eshām̃ sam̃vidma tāḥ naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ |* "We say this to Bhava and S'arva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Yaḥ enām avaśām āha devānām̃ nihitam̃ nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhavā-śarvau parikramyeshum asyataḥ |* "Both Bhava and S'arva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow."

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ |* 26. *Sa Rudro vasuvanir vasudeye namovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu sam̃hitaḥ |* 27. *Tasyeme sarve yātavaḥ upa praśisham āsate |* 28. *Tasyāmū sarvā nakshatrā vaśe chandramasā saha |* "4. He (Savitṛi) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He, Rudra, the giver of wealth, is placed as the 'vashaṭkāra' in the reverential invocation, at the giving of wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control."

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Prof. Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's Indische Studien, pp. 121–140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvāsam anushṭhātāram akurvan | Bhavaḥ enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād anushṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | nainam̃ S'arvo na Bhavo na Īśāno na asya paśūn na samānān hinasti yaḥ evam veda |* 2. *Tasmai dakshiṇāyāḥ diśo antardeśāch chharvam ishvāsam ityādi |* 3. *Tasmai pratīchyāḥ diśo antar-deśāt Paśupatim ityādi |* 4. *Tasmai udīchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād ugram̃ devam ityādi |* 5. *Tasmai dhruvāyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Rudram ityādi |* 6. *Tasmai ūrdhvāyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi |* 7. *Tasmai sarvebhyo antar-deśebhyāḥ Īśānam ityādi |* "[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vrātya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither S'arva nor Bhava, nor Īśāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.

2. [The gods] made S'arva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made the god Ugra, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Īśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions," etc.

SECT. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the S'atapatha and S'ānkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 202) Rudra is identified with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāni nāmāni S'arvaḥ iti yathā prāchyāḥ āchakshate Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāhīkāḥ Paśūnām patiḥ Rudro 'gnir iti* | *tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni* | *Agnir ity eva śāntatamam* | "Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,[83] Bhava, as the Bāhīkas, Paśūnāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (i.e. all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation."[84]

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhūd vai iyam pratishṭhā iti* | *tad bhūmir abhavat* | *tām aprathayat sā pṛithivy abhavat* | *tasyām asyām pratishṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsarāya adīkshanta* | *bhūtānām patir gṛiha-patir āsīd Ushāḥ patnī* | 8. *Tad yāni tāni bhūtāni ṛitavas te* | *atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ saḥ* | *atha yā sā Ushāḥ patny aushasī sā* | *tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ Ushasi reto 'sinchan* | *sa saṁvatsare kumāro 'jāyata* | *so 'rodīt* | 9. *Tam Prajāpatir abravīt "kumāra kiṁ rodishi yach chhramāt*

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[83] On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): *Prāchyādi-deśa-bhedena S'arvādi-nāma-bhede 'pi devatā ekā eva* | "Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as S'arva, etc., still the god is but one."

[84] See the note translated from Weber's Indische Studien above in p. 328.

tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si" iti | so 'bravīd "anapahata-pāpmā vai asmy ahita-nāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmānam eva asya tad apahanty api dvitīyam api tṛitīyam abhipūrvam eva asya tat pāpmānam apahanti | 10. *Tam abravīd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpam abhavat | Agnir vai Rudraḥ | yad arodīt tasmād Rudraḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 11. *Tam abravīt "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvaḥ | adbhyo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 12. *Tam abravīt Paśupatir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavan | oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadā paśavaḥ oshadhīr labhante 'tha patīyanti | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 13. *Tam abravīd Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāty "Ugro vāti" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 14. *Tam abravīd "Aśanir asi" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyud vai Aśanis tasmād yaṁ vidyud hanty "Aśanir abadhīd" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 15. *Tam abravīd "Bhavo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Parjanyas tad-rūpam abhavat | Parjanyo vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyād hi idaṁ sarvam bhavati | so 'bravīd "jyāyāṉ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 16. *Tam abravīd "Mahān devo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 17. *Tam abravīd "Īśāno 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īśānaḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvasya īshṭe | so 'bravīd "etāvān vai asmi mā mā itaḥ paro nāma dhāḥ" iti |* 18. *Tāny etāny ashṭāv Agni-rūpāṉi Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Agnes trivṛittā |* 19. *Yad vai iva ashṭāv Agni-rūpāṉy ashṭāksharā gāyatrī tasmād āhur "gāyatro 'gnir" iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpāṉy anuprāviśat | na vai Agniṁ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny eva asya rūpāṉi paśyanty etāni hi rūpāṉi prāviśat |*

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmi*). He extended it (*aprathayat*). It became the broad one (*pṛithivī*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. 8. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That 'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).[85] Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)[86] was born in a year. The boy wept. 9. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My evil indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his evil; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his evil. 10. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodīt* from *rud*, 'to weep').[87] The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 11. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'[88] Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for Sarva (All) is the waters, because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 24 f.). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 12. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the Plants became his form, for Paśupati is the Plants. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong). The boy said,

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[85] I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the 'lord of beings' = the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

[86] The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (Indische Studien, ii. 302, 395), is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

[87] See the end of note 9, p. 303, above. A story like the one there given will be found in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 1, 1:—*Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmaṁ vasu sannyadadhata "idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti" iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tad devāḥ vijitya avarurutsamānāḥ anvāyan | tad asya sahasā āditsanta | so 'rodīt | yad arodīt tad Rudrasya Rudratvam |* "The gods and Asuras engaged in battle. The gods, conquering, deposited valuable property with Agni, saying, 'If they should ever conquer us, we shall have this.' Agni desired the property; and went off with it. The gods, after being victorious, went after him to recover their goods, which they sought to take from him by force. He wept. From his weeping Rudra gets his character of Rudra."

[88] The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nābhir iha me sadhastham ime me devāḥ ayam asmi Sarvaḥ | dvijāḥ aha prathama-jāḥ ṛitasya idaṁ dhenur aduhaj jāyamānā |* "This is my centre, here is my abode, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 14. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Aśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (*bhavati*) from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 16. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahāndevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the 'Great god' is Prajāpati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Īśāna is the Sun, because he rules (*īshṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' 18. These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy, see above, para. 8 in the preceding page) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛittā*) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.'[89] This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

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[89] The same words occur in the Taitt. S. ii. 2, 5, 5; and the Taitt. Br. i. 1, 5, 2. The Commentator on the latter passage says: *Agner mukha-jatvena gāyatrī-sambandhitvam* | "Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."

Mārk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhyāyataḥ prabhoḥ | 3. Prādur-āsīd athānke 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ | ruroda susvaraṁ so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama | kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha jagat-patim | Rudras tvaṁ deva nāmnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyam āvaha | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitvo ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tasmai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ | sthānāni chaishām ashṭānām patnīḥ putrāṁś cha vai dvija | Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatheśānaṁ tathā Paśupatim prabhuḥ | Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uvācha sa Pitāmahaḥ |*

"When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (*i.e.* Brahmā) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, 'Why dost thou weep?' He answered the lord of the world, 'Give me a name.' [Brahmā rejoined], 'Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.' Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva."

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Aśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sānkhāyana or Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who copied it from the MS. of the Sānkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāti-kāmas tapo 'tapyata | tasmāt taptāt pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityaś Chandramāḥ Ushāḥ panchamī | tān abravīd "yūyam api tapyadhvam" | te 'dīkshanta | tān dīkshitāṁs tepānān Ushāḥ prājāpatyā 'psaro-rūpaṁ kṛitvā purastāt pratyudait | tasyām eshām manaḥ samapatat | te reto 'sinchanta | Te prajāpatim pitaram etya abruvan "reto vai asichāmahai idam no mā amuyā bhūd" iti | sa prajāpatir hiraṇmayaṁ chamasam akarod ishu-mātram ūrdhvam evam tiryancham | tasmin retaḥ samasinchat | tataḥ udatishṭhat sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt sahasreṇa pratihitābhiḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyā-*

yachhasi" iti | "nāma me kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam avihitena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Bhavaḥ eva" iti yad Bhavaḥ āpas | tena na ha vai evam Bhavo hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam ā īm eva vāsaḥ paridadhīta iti | 3. *Tam̃ dvitīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "dvitīyam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam ekena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" iti abravīch "Chharvaḥ eva" iti yach Chharvo 'gniḥ | tena na ha vai enam̃ Sarvo hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam̃ sarvam eva na aśnīyād iti |* 4. *Tam̃ tṛitīyam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "tṛitīyam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam̃ dvābhyām̃ nāmabhyām annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Paśupatir eva" iti yat Paśupatir Vāyuḥ | tena na ha vai enam Paśupatir hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam brāhmaṉam eva na parivaded iti |* 5. *Tam̃ chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "chaturtham me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idam̃ tribhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Ugraḥ eva devaḥ" iti yad Ugro devaḥ oshadhayo vanaspatayaḥ | tena na ha vai enam Ugro devo hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam̃ striyāḥ eva vivaram̃ na īksheta iti |* 6. *Tam panchamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | panchamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idam̃ chaturbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīn "Mahān eva devaḥ" iti | yan Mahān devaḥ Ādityaḥ | Tena na ha vai enam Mahān devo hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam udyantam eva enam̃ na īksheta astam̃ yantam̃ cha iti |* 7. *Tam̃ shashṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "shashṭham me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idam pānchabhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Rudraḥ eva" iti yad Rudraś Chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vai enam̃ Rudro hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃*

dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam̃ vimūrtam eva nāśnīyān majjānam̃ cha iti | 8. *Tam̃ saptamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "saptamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idam̃ shaḍbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Īśānaḥ eva" iti yad Īśano 'nnam̃ | tena na ha vai enam Īśāno hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvānam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam annam eva ichhamānam̃ na pratyāchakshīta iti |* 9. *Taṃ ashṭamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "ashṭamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam̃ saptabhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Aśanir eva" iti yad Aśanir Indraḥ | tena na ha vai enam Aśanir hinasti na asya prajām̃ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṉam̃ chana | atha yaḥ enam̃ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evam̃ veda | tasya vratam̃ satyam eva vaded hiraṉyam̃ cha bibhṛiyād iti | sa esho 'shṭanāmā 'shṭadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ā ha vai asya ashṭamāt purushāt prajā 'nnam atti vasīyān vasīyān ha eva asya prajāyām ājāyate yaḥ evam̃ veda |*

"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (a celestial nymph) rose up. Their attention was riveted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows on the string. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' 'Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.' 'Thou art S'arva,' Prajāpati answered; for S'arva is Agni. Wherefore S'arva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (the Wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god),' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahāndeva (the great god),' Prajāpati answered; for Mahāndeva is Āditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything coagulated [or solid],[90] or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Īśāna does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahāndeva (great god), who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier and wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

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[90] This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. mūrchh*+*ri*.

The following is the account given in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the S'atarudriya:

Satapatha Brāhmāṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.[91]—*Atha ataḥ śatarudriyam̃ juhoti | atra esha sarvo 'gniḥ sam̃skṛitaḥ | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmin devāḥ etad amṛitam̃ rūpam uttamam adadhuḥ | sa esho 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abibhayur "yad vai no 'yam na him̃syād" iti* | 2. *Te 'bruvann "annam asmai sambharāma tena enam̃ śamayāma" iti | tasmai etad annam̃ samabharan śānta-devatyam*[92] | *tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etam̃ devam etena aśamayam̃s tasmāch chhānta-devatyam | "śānta-devatyam̃ ha vai tach chhatarudriyam" ity āchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ* |

"He now offers an oblation with the S'atarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease hin.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called 'Sāntadevatya' ('that with which a god is appeased'). They call this 'Sāntadevatya' esoterically 'S'ata-rudriya'; for the gods love what is esoteric."

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[91] Compare Taitt. Br. i. 6, 1, 2. In the same work, i. 7. 1, 2, we read that the gods and Asuras were fighting, when the former said to Agni, "We shall conquer with thee as our champion." He said, "I shall transform myself into three parts." He did so, Agui being one part, Rudra a second, and Varuṇa a third, etc (*te devāh Agnim abruvan "tvayā vīreṇa Asurān abhibhavāma" iti | so 'bravīt "tredhā ātmānam̃ vikarishye" iti | sa tredhā ātmānam vyakuruta Agnim̃ tṛitīyam̃ Rudram̃ tṛitīyam̃ Varuṇam̃ tṛitīyam ityādi*).

[92] *S'ānta-devatyam śānta-devatārtham̃ devatā-śānty-artham* | Comm.

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yam̃ homo Rudra-rūpatāpannasya Agner upaśamanārtham* | "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."[93]

The same work gives, a little further on, another account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the S'atarudriya:

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—*Prajāpater visrastād devatāḥ udakrāmam̃s tam ekaḥ eva devo na ajahād Manyur eva | so 'sminn antar vitato 'tishṭhat | so 'rodīt | tasya yāny aśrūṇi prāskandam̃s tāny asmin Manyau pratyatishṭhan | sa eva śata-śīrshāḥ Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrākshaḥ śateshudhiḥ | atha yāḥ anyāḥ viprusho 'patam̃s tā asankhyātā sahasrāṇi*[94] *imān lokān anuprāviśan | tad yad ruditāt samabharam̃s tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'yam̃ śataśīrshāḥ Rudraḥ sahasrākshaḥ śateshudhir*[95] *adhijya-dhanvā pratihitāyī bhīshayamāṇo 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abibhayuḥ | 7. Te Prajāpatim abruvan | "asmād vai bibhīmo yad vai no 'yam̃ na him̃syād" iti | so 'bravīd "annam asmai sambharata tena enam̃ śamayata" iti | tasmai etad annam̃ samabharan śatarudriyam̃ tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etam̃ śataśīrshāṇam̃ Rudram etena aśamayam̃s tasmāch chhataśīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam | śataśīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam̃ ha vai tat śatarudriyam ity āchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ ityādi | . . . 14. "Namas te Rudra manyave" iti | yaḥ eva asmin so 'ntar Manyur vitato 'tishṭhat tasmai etan namaskaroty uto "te ishave namo bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ" iti ishvā cha hi bāhubhyām̃ cha bhīshayamāṇo 'tishṭhat |*

6. "From Prajāpati, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

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[93] In the Taitt. S. v. 4, 3, 1. it is said: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ | sa etarhi jāto yarhi sarvaś chitaḥ sa yathā vatso jātaḥ stanam prepsaty evam̃ vai esha etarhi bhāgadheyam prepsati | tasmai yad āhutim̃ na juhuyād adhvaryum̃ cha yajamānam̃ cha dhyāyet | S'atarudriyam̃ juhoti | bhāgadheyena eva enam̃ śamayati | na ārtim ā archaty adhvaryur na yajamānaḥ* | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). When now he is born, and all kindled, as a calf when born desires the udder, so he now desires his share. If an oblation were not presented to him, he would turn his thoughts (with the view of devouring) towards both the adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer. The S'atarudriya is celebrated; and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvaryu and sacrificer avoid injury." The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ | sa yathā vyāghraḥ kruddhas tishṭhaty evam̃ vai esha etarhi | sanchitam etair upatishṭhate namaskārair eva enam̃ śamayati* | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tiger stands raging, so does he now. The priest approaches with these [oblations] [the fire] that has been prepared [and kindled]; and quiets him with prostrations.

[94] Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, 325.

[95] Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 323.

departed. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, and arrows on the string, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajāpati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is 'that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased' (*S'ata-śīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam*). This they esoterically call Satarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric." . . . 14. "'Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath' (see above, p. 326, verse 1). (In these words) he (the priest) expresses reverence to Manyu, who stood extended within him (Rudra). 'Reverence also to thy arrow and thine arms.' He (the god) stood causing terror with his arrow and arms."

The word Mahādeva occurs in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vi. 9, 7, *Yāṁ samām Mahādevaḥ paśūn hanyād ityādi* | "In whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle." The same work, vii. 9, 16 ff., makes mention of Rudra in connexion with cattle or victims: *Devāḥ vai paśūn vyabhajanta* | *te Rudram antarāyan* | "The gods were dividing the victims. They passed over Rudra."

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 204), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,[36] however, which is narrated in the Vana-parvan of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived:

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[36] Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note, 1st ed. = p. 701, 2nd ed.) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.

14427 ff.—*Āgamya manuja-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archayāmāsa suprīto bhagavān govṛisha-dhvajaḥ | Rudram Agnim̐ dvijāḥ prāhuḥ Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudreṉa śukram utsṛishṭam̐ tat śvetaḥ parvato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyam̐ śvete kṛittikābhiḥ kṛitam̐ nage | pūjyamānam̐ tu Rudreṉa dṛishṭvā sarve divaukasaḥ | Rudra-sūnum̐ tataḥ prāhur Guham̐ guṉavatām̐ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṉa vahnim̐ jāto hy ayam̐ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyāḥ shaṉṉām̐ strīṉām̐ cha Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ sura-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat |*

"The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Agni Rudra; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honoured by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Agni, [who was] Rudra, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives [of the Rishis], was the son of Rudra."

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*deva-senā*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.).

Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vaśishṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

Nishkrāmaṁś chāpy apaśyat sa patnīs teshām mahātmanām | sveshv āśrameshūpavishṭāḥ svapantīś cha tathā sukham | rukma-vedi-nibhās[97] *tās tu chandra-lekhāḥ ivāmalāḥ | hutāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārāḥ ivādbhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva kshubhitendriyaḥ | patnīr dṛishṭvā dvijendrāṇāṁ Vahniḥ kāma-vaśaṁ yayau | bhūyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na nyāyyaṁ kshubhito hy aham | sādhvyaḥ patnyo dvijendrāṇām akāmāḥ kāmayāmy aham | naitāḥ śakyāḥ mayā drashṭum prashṭuṁ vā 'py animittataḥ | gārhapatyaṁ samāviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhīkshṇaśaḥ | saṁspṛiśann iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhiḥ kānchana-prabhāḥ | paśyamānaś cha mumude gārhapatyaṁ samāśritaḥ | nirushya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vahnir vaśaṁ gataḥ | manas tāsu viniḥkshipya kāmayāno varānganāḥ | kāma-santapta-hṛidayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīnām Agnir vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Daksha-duhitā prathamaṁ kāmayat tadā | sā tasya chhidram anvaichhach chirāt-prabhṛiti bhāvinī | apramattasya devasya na cha paśyaty aninditā | sā taṁ jnātvā yathāvat tu Vahniṁ vanam upāgatam | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptaṁ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī | ahaṁ saptarshi-patnīnāṁ kṛitvā rūpāṇi Pāvakam | kāmayishyāmi kāmārtā tāsāṁ rūpeṇa mohitam | evaṁ kṛite prītir asya kāmāvāptiś cha me bhavet | S'ivā bhāryā tv Angirasaḥ śīla-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāḥ sā prathamaṁ rūpaṁ kṛitvā devī janādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyāsaṁ taṁ chovācha varānganā | mām Agne kāma-santaptāṁ tvaṁ kāmayitum arhasi | karishyasi na ched evam mṛitām mām upadhāraya | aham Angiraso bhāryā S'ivā-nāmā Hutāśana | śishṭābhiḥ prahitā prāptā mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnir uvācha | katham māṁ tvaṁ vijānīshe kāmārtam itarāḥ katham | yās tvayā kīrtitāḥ sarvāḥ saptarshīṇām priyāḥ striyaḥ | S'ivā uvācha | asmākāṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhīmas tu vayaṁ tava | tvachchittam ingitair jnātvā preshitā 'smi tavāntikam | maithunāyeha samprāptā kāmam prāptuṁ drutaṁ chara | yāmayo mām*

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[97] In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as *Rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the Commentator explains as *rukma-vedim prāptam hiraṇyeshṭaka-chitāṁ vedim prāptam* | "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."

pratīkshante gamishyāmi Hutāśana | Mārkaṉḍeyaḥ uvācha | tato 'gnir upayeme tām̃ S'ivām prītām mudā yutaḥ | prītyā devī samāyuktā śukram̃ jagrāha pāṉinā | achintayad mamedam̃ ye rūpam̃ drakshyanti kānane | te brāhmaṉīnām anṛitam̃ dosham̃ vakshyanti Pāvake | tasmād etad rakshamāṉā Garuḍī sambhavāmy aham | vanād nirgamanam̃ chaiva sukham mama bhavishyati | Suparṉī sā tadā bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apaśyat parvatam̃ śvetam̃ śara-stambaiḥ susam̃vṛitam | dṛishṭīvishaiḥ sapta-śīrshair guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | rakshobhiś cha piśāchaiś cha raudrair bhūtagaṉais tathā | rākshasībhiś cha sampūrṉam anekaiścha mṛiga-dvijaiḥ | sā tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-pṛishṭham̃ sudurgamam | prākshipat kānchane kuṉḍe śukram̃ sā tvaritā śubhā | saptānām api sā devī saptarshīnām mahātmanām | patnī-sarūpatām̃ kṛitvā kāmayāmāsa Pāvakam | divyarūpam Arundhatyāḥ kartum̃ na śakitam̃ tayā | tasyās tapaḥ-prabhāveṉa bhartuḥ śuśrūshaṉena cha | shaṭkṛitvas tat tu niḥkshiptam Agneḥ retaḥ Kurūttama | tasmin kuṉḍe pratipadi kāminyā Svāhayā tadā | tat skannam̃ tejasā tatra sam̃vṛitam̃ janayat sutam | ṛishibhiḥ pūjitam̃ skannam anayat Skandatām̃ tataḥ | shaṭ-śirāḥ dviguṉa-śrotro dvādaśākshi-bhujakramaḥ | eka-grīvaika-jaṭharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata | . . . .

v. 14514: *Yadā Skandena mātṛīṉām evam etat priyam̃ kṛitam | tathainam abravīt Svāhā "mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhāmy aham̃ tvayā dattām prītim parama-durlabhām" | tām abrāvit tataḥ Skandaḥ prītim ichhasi kīdriśīm | Svāhā uvācha | Dakshasyāham priyā kanyā Svāhā nāma mahābhuja | bālyāt prabhṛiti nityancha jāta-kāmā Hutāśane | na sa mām kāminīm putra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | ichhāmi śāśvatam̃ vāsam̃ vastum putra sahāgninā | Skandaḥ uvācha | Havyam̃ kavyancha yat kinchid dvijānām mantra-sam̃stutam | hoshyanty Agnau sadā devi svāhety uktvā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dāsyanti suvṛittāḥ sat-pathe sthitāḥ | evam Agnis tvayā sārdham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkaṉḍeyaḥ uvacha | evam uktā tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjitā | Pāvakena samāyuktā bhartrā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahāsenaṃ Prajāpatir athābravīt | abhigachha Mahādevam pitaram̃ tripurārdanam | Rudreṉāgnim̃ samāviśya svāhām āviśya chomayā | hitārtham̃ sarva-lokānām̃ jātas tvam aparājitaḥ |*

"Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] reclining in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars, pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of the Brahmans, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, 'It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmans, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.' Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmans' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daksha, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I, who am distressed by love, will take the forms of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni, who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of S'ivā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the handsome goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, S'ivā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' S'ivā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil thy desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutāśana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted S'ivā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will become easy. She then, becoming Suparṇī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents, whose very glance was venomous, by Rākshasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Rakshasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vaśishṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the pratipad (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*skanna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of Skanda. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*svarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Daksha, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me, who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, "Svāhā." From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, O beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of

Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā.'"

SECT. V.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.*

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the S'vetāśvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii., pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāśvaratara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Yaḥ eko jālavān īśate īśanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhiḥ* | *yaḥ eva ekaḥ udbhave sambhave cha ye etad vidur amṛitās te bhavanti* | 2. *Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthur*[98] *yaḥ imān lokān īśate īśanībhiḥ* | *pratyañ janāṁs tishṭhati sanchukopānta-kāle*[99] *saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ* | 3. (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvataś-chakshur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pat* | *sam bāhubhyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmīṁ* (sic) *janayan devaḥ ekaḥ*| 4. *Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshiḥ* | *Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ*[100] *sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁyunaktu* | 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 322) . . . . iv. 21. *Ajātaḥ ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate* | *Rudra yat te dakshiṇam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam* | 22=R.V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 with various readings (see above, pp. 303 and 323). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his powers, he who in origination and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, fashions them with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great rishi, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first generated Hiraṉyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man concludes thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra, protect me with thy southern face."

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[98] These words *na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a reading partly similar (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-śiras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyaḥ;* and Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, *ekaḥ eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vatasthe.* Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 12, note 4), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyo raṇe vighnan pṛitanāsu śatrūn* | *saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni goptā pratyañ janān sanchukośānta-kāle* | "One only Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end."

[99] The proper reading is probably *sanchukocha.* See the last note; and Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kuch+sam;* where *sanchukocha* is given as the proper reading, instead of *sanchukośa,* which is found in Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

[100] These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jāyamānam,* i.e. "beheld Hiraṇyagarbha being born." The rest of the verse remains the same.

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras[101] Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings:

Devāḥ ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devāḥ Rudram apṛichchhan "ko bhavān" iti | so 'bravīd "aham ekaḥ prathamam āsaṁ vartāmi cha bhavishyāmi cha na anyaḥ kaśchid matto vyatiriktaḥ" iti | so 'ntarād antaram prāviśad diśaścha antaraṁ samprāviśat | "so 'ham nityānityo vyaktāvyakto 'ham Brahmābrahma aham prānchaḥ pratyancho 'haṁ dakshiṉāñcha [dakshiṉāś cha?] udancho 'ham adhaścha ūrddhvancha diśaścha pratidiśaścha aham pumān apumān strī cha ahaṁ sāvitry ahaṁ gāyatry aham trishṭub jagaty anushṭup cha ahaṁ chhando 'ham gārhapatyo dakshiṉāgnir āhavanīyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gaury ahaṁ jyeshṭho 'haṁ śreshṭho 'haṁ varishṭho 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmātharvāṅgiraso 'ham aksharam ahaṁ ksharam ahaṁ guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham araṉyo 'ham pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrancha madhyancha vahiścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvancha mām eva mām yo veda sa sarvān devān veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṉān brāhmaṉyena havīṁshi havishā āyur āyushā satyaṁ satyena dharmaṁ dharmeṉa tarpayāmi svena tejasā" | tato devāḥ Rudraṁ na apaśyams te devāḥ Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devāḥ ūrdhvabāhavaḥ stuvanti yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavāṉ yaś cha Brahmā tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vishṉus tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Maheśvaras tasmai

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[101] A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṉa, i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 165 f. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 f.

vai namo namaḥ | *yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā cha Umā tasmai . . . .* | *yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vināyakas tasmai . . . .* | *yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Skandaḥ . . . .* | *yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Indraḥ . . . .* | *yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Agniḥ . . . .* | *yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yā cha Bhūḥ . . . .* | *yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Bhuvaḥ . . . .* | *om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvaḥ suvar ante śīrsham janadom*[102] *viśva-rūpo 'si* | *Brahma ekas tvaṁ dvitridhā ūrdhvam adhaś cha tvaṁ śāntiścha tvaṁ pushṭiścha tvaṁ tushṭiścha tvaṁ hutam ahutam viśvam aviśvaṁ dattam adattam kṛitam akṛitam param aparam parāyaṉancha iti* | *"apāma somam*[103] *amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān* | *kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṉavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrtir amṛita martyasya"* | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | *sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad aksharam prājāpatyaṁ sūkshmaṁ saumyam purusham agrāhyam agrāhyeṉa Vāyuṁ vāyavyena somaṁ saumyena grasati svena tejasā* | *tasmai upasaṁhartre mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ* | *hṛidisthāḥ devatāḥ sarvāḥ hṛidi prāṉe pratishṭhitāḥ* | *hṛidi tvam asi yo nityaṁ tisro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ* | *tasya uttarataḥ śiro dakshiṉataḥ pādau yaḥ uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ* | *yaḥ oṁkāraḥ sa praṉavo yaḥ praṉavaḥ sa sarva-vyāpī yaḥ sarva-vyāpī so 'nanto yo 'nantas tat tāraṁ*[104] *yat tāraṁ tat sūkshmaṁ yat sūkshmaṁ tat śuklaṁ yat śuklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yad vaidyutaṁ tat param Brahma iti sa ekaḥ* | *sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa Maheśvaraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ* | *yasmād uchchāryamāṉaḥ eva sarvaṁ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ . . . . atha kasmad uchyate ekaḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān lokān udgṛihṉāti*[105] *sṛijati visṛijati vāsayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ* | *"eko Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe* (*sthitavān* | *advitīyaḥ eva sthitavān* | Comm.) *turīyam imaṁ lokam īśate īśanīyur* (*niyamana-śaktimān* | Comm.) *jananīyuḥ* (*viśvotpādaka-śaktimān* | Comm.) | *pratyañ janās tisṭhanti saṁyug*

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[102] The commentator explains this thus: *S'īrshaṁ śiro mantraḥ svāhā ity evaṁrūpaḥ* | *janadom janada iti karmopalakshaṉārtham akshara-trayam* | *janam janim tadupalakshita-janimad vastu-jātam tad dadāti iti janadaḥ* | *tasya sambodhanam* | Instead of the words in the text, another MS. reads, *bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvas te svas te śīrshaṁ viśvarūpo 'si.*

[103] *Umayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṉyā Kātyāyanyā saha vartate iti Somas tam* | [*Soma* is thus = *sa*+*Uma*, "with Umā"] *yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amritāḥ maraṉa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kārya-saṁskārair vivarjitāḥ abhūma sampannāḥ* | —Comm.

[104] *Tārayati*, "delivers:" that which delivers.—Comm.

[105] *Ūrdhva-moksham ātmani gṛihṉāti* | —Comm.

asyāntakāle samhṛitya viśvā bhuvānani goptā" | *tasmād uchyate* *Rudraḥ*[106]| *atha kasmād uchyate Īśāno* "*yaḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhir*" *jananībhiḥ parama-śaktibhiḥ* | "*abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ* | *īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛiśam īśānam Indra tastushaḥ*" | (R.V. vii. 32, 22) | *tasmād uchyate Īśānaḥ* | . . . . *atha kasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān lokān sambhakshaḥ sambhakśhayaty ajasram̃ sṛijati visṛijati vāsayati tasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān bhāvān parityajya ātma-jnāna-yogaiśvarye mahati mahīyate tasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ* | *tad etad* (*etad nāma-nirukti-rūpam̃ charitam* | Comm.) *Rudra-charitam* | "*esho ha devaḥ pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ* | *sa eva jātaḥ sa janishyamāṇaḥ pratyañ janās tishṭhati viśvato-mukhaḥ*" | (Vāj. S. 32, 4) "*viśvataś-chakshur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt* | *sam bāhubhyām̃ dhamati sam̃ patatrair dyāvā-pṛithivī janayan devaḥ ekaḥ*" | (R.V. x. 81, 3) | . . . . *Rudre ekatvam* (*aikyam* | Comm.) *āhuḥ* | *Rudram̃ śāśvatam̃ vai purāṇam ityādi* . . . . | *vratam etat pāśupatam* | *Agnir iti bhasma Vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyoma iti bhasma sarvam̃ ha vai idam bhasma manaḥ etāni chakshūm̃shi bhasmāni* | "*Agnir*" *ityādinā bhasma gṛihītvā nimṛijya aṅgāni sam̃spṛiśet* | *tasmād vratam etat pāśupatam paśu-pāśa-vimokshāya* | *yo 'tharva-śiram brāhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gni-pūto bhavati* | *sa vāyu-pūto bhavati* | *sa āditya-pūto bhavati* | *sa soma-pūto bhavati* | *sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati* | *sa sarveshu tīrtheshu snāto bhavati* | *sa sarveshu vedeshv adhīto bhavati* | *sa sarva-veda-vrata-charyāsu charito bhavati* | *sa sarvair devair jnāto bhavati* | *sa sarva-yajna-kratubhir ishṭavān bhavati* | *tena itihāsa-purāṇānām̃ Rudrāṇām śata-sahasrāṇi japtāni bhavanti* | *gāyatryāḥ śata-sahasram̃ japtam bhavati* | *praṇavānām ayutam̃ japtam bhavati* | *rūpe rūpe* (*pāṭhe pāṭhe pratipāṭham* | Comm.) *daśa-pūrvān punāti daśottarān ā chakshushaḥ panktim punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śiro 'tharva-śiraḥ* (*abhyāsaḥ ādarārthaḥ* | Comm.) *sakṛij japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmaṇyo bhavati* | *dvitīyam̃ japtvā gāṇapatyam* (*sarva-niyantṛitvam* | Comm) *avāpnoti tṛitīyam̃ japtvā devam eva anupraviśaty om̃ satyam* | "*yo Rudro agnau yo apsv antar ya oshadhīr vīrudhaḥ āviveśa* | *ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākḷipe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu Agnaye*" | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

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[106] In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: *Yasmād ṛishibhir na anyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate* | "He is called 'Rudra' because his form is quickly (*drutam*) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons."

"The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.' He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. 'I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,[107] I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Sāvitrī, I the Gāyatrī, I the Trishṭubh, Jagatī, and Anushṭubh (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,[108] I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāngirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the pushkara (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light, —I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmans with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditate upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praise him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Maheśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūḥ, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvaḥ, etc. (In the same way Rudra is identified with *suvaḥ* [*svaḥ*]; *mahaḥ*; *jana*; *tapas*; *satya*; *pṛithivī*; *āpas*; *tejas*; *vāyu*; *ākāśa*; *sūrya*; *soma*; *nakshatrāṇi*; *ashṭau grahāḥ*; *prāṇa*; *kāla*; *Yama*; *mṛityu*; *amṛita*; *bhūta*; *bhavya*; *bhavishyat*; *viśva*; *kṛitsna*;

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[107] *Vākyābhyāso rūpasya ātmano vāstavatva-pradarśanārthaḥ* | Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not *Brahma*, but *abrahma*.

[108] *S'iva-priyā* | *ashṭavarshā vā kumārī gaura-varṇā bāla-tatā* (?) *tu* | Comm.

sarva; and *satya.*) Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ; at the end is the head. O giver of life, Om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly, and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, O immortal god?'[109] This imperishable [principle], beneficial to the whole world, sprung from [or, having the nature of,] Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of Vāyu, soma by that which has the nature of soma.[110] To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the praṇava, which (praṇava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtile, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma: thus he is the one. He is the only Rudra, he is Īśāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as so soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra." (The same inquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words 'praṇava,' 'sarvavyāpin' ['all-pervading'], 'ananta' ['infinite'] the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then 'eka,' 'one,' is explained.) "Now why is he called 'one'? He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the

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[109] Quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 265. According to the commentator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa+uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyanī. What would the Vedic rishi who composed the verse have said to this mystical interpretation? Such explanations are not, however, peculiar to the adherents of any one religion.

[110] I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

'one.' Now why is he called the one Rudra? 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within him united with him. At the time of the end he annihilates all worlds, the protector.' Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Iśāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (īśāna) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].[111] Hence he is called 'Īśāna.' ('Bhagavat' is then explained.) Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, O men, pervading all things, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, fabricates them with his arms, and with his wings.'" (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāśupata rite is thus described: "This is the Pāśupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes, are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāśupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śira is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and Rudras (formulas relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand Oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters into the god: Om, [this is] true. 'Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.'"

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[111] R.V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Vishṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which I need not attempt to translate at length) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kāraṇam̃ tu dhyeyaḥ sarvaiśvarya-sampannaḥ sarveśvaraś cha S'ambhuḥ ākāśa-madhye dhruvam̃ stabdhvā 'dhikam̃ kshaṇam ekam̃ kratuśatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyā yat phalam̃ tad avāpnoti kṛitsnam om̃kāragatam̃ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jnānānām̃ yat phalam tad om̃kāra veda-para īśo vā śiva eko dhyeyaḥ śivankaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya*).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Āśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasametya uvācha adhīhi bhagavan brahma-vidyām ityādi*). Brahmā (*pitāmaha*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-sthaḥ sakalendriyāṇi nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum praṇamya | hṛit-puṇḍarīkam̃ virajam̃ viśuddham̃ vichintya madhye viśadam̃ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpam̃ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yonim | tam ādimadhyānta-vihīnam ekam̃ vibhum̃ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umāsahāyam parameśvaram prabhum̃ trilochanam̃ nīla-kaṇṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gachhati bhūta-yonim̃ samasta-sākshim̃ tamasaḥ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa S'ivaḥ Sendraḥ so 'ksharaḥ paramaḥ svarāṭ | sa eva Vishṇuḥ sa prāṇaḥ sa ātmā parameśvaraḥ*[112] | *sa eva sarvam̃ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyam̃ sanātanam | jnātvā tam̃ mṛityum atyeti nānyaḥ panthā vimuk-*

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[112] Another MS. has here *Sa kālo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ.*

taye | . . . . *yaḥ śatarudriyam adhīte so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyupūto bhavati ityādi* | "A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (i.e. that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the consort of Umā, the supreme lord, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is S'iva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Vishṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation." Further on it is said: "He who reads the S'atarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air," etc., etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nīlarudropanishad, which begins thus: *Apaśyam̃ chāvarohantam̃ divitaḥ pṛithivīmayaḥ* | *apaśyam apaśyam̃ tam̃ Rudram̃ nīlagrivam̃ śikhaṇḍinam* | "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition contains many verses from the S'atarudriya.

SECT. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 165, 176, 178, 184–205, 223–228, 230–232, 240 f., 266–273, 278–281, 282–289). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 165, 176 f., and 178 ff. The other texts of the Rāmāyaṉa in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god bear generally, perhaps, a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyaṉa i. 23, 10 ff. (ed. Bombay), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid), who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*ananga*). (*Kandarpo mūrtimān āsīt Kāmaḥ ity uchyate budhaiḥ | tapasyantam iha Sthāṉuṁ nimayena samāhitam* | 11. *Kṛitodvāhaṁ tu deveśaṁ gachhantaṁ sa-marud-gaṉam* | *dharshayāmāsa durmedhāḥ hunkṛitaś cha mahātmanā* | 12. *Avadhyātaś cha Rudreṉa chakshushā Raghunandana* | *vyaśīryanta śarīrāt svāt sarva-gātrāṉi durmateḥ* |)

In i. 35, 20 (Bombay ed.), it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the "unequalled Rudra" (*Rudrāya apratirūpāya*). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of S'iva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: *Purā Rāma kṛitodvāhaḥ S'itikaṉṭho mahātapāḥ*| 6. *Dṛishṭvā cha bhagavān devīm maithunāyopachakrame* | *tasya saṁkrīḍamānasya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ* | *S'itikaṉṭhasya devasya divyaṁ varsha-śataṁ gatam* | 7. *Na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyām āsīt parantapa*| "Formerly, after his marriage, S'itikaṉṭha (S'iva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva S'itikaṉṭha was thus sporting. But, O Rāma, vexer of thy foes, no son was born to Umā." The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 354), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped S'iva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-seventh section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (S'iva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahādeva, who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (i.e. Mahādeva), is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (sect. 38, v. 3, Schlegel's ed.=sect. 37, 3, of Bombay ed.: *Yo naḥ*[113] *senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāśa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rishi Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 40, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate S'iva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 43) continued his austerities till S'iva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*), appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, and came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, S'iva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths of the serpent Vāsuki, who was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to S'iva to deliver them from this portent:

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[113] *Yo naḥ* is the reading of Schlegel's edition, as well as of Gorresio's, 39, 3. The Bombay edition reads *yena*, which does not seem so good a reading.

21. *Atha devāḥ Mahādevam̃ S'ankaram̃ śaraṉārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatim̃ Rudram trāhi trāhīti tushṭuvuḥ |* 22. *Evam uktas tato devair deva-deveśvaraḥ prabhuḥ | prādurāsīt tato 'traiva śankha-chakra-dharo Hariḥ |* 23. *Uvāchainam̃ smitam̃ kṛitvā Rudram śūla-dharam̃ Hariḥ | daivatair mathyamāne tu yat pūrvam̃ samupasthitam |* 24. *Tat tvadīyam̃ sura-śreshṭha surāṉām agrato hi yat | agra-pūjām iha sthitvā gṛihāṉedam̃ visham prabho |* 25. *Ity uktvā cha sura-śreshṭhas tatraivāntaradhīyata | devatānām bhayam̃ dṛishṭvā śrutvā vākyam̃ tu S'ārngiṉaḥ |* 26. *Halāhalam̃ visham̃ ghoram̃ sanjagrāhāmṛitopamam | devān visṛijya deveśo jagāma bhagavān Haraḥ |* 21. "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, S'ankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' 22. Then, being addressed by the gods, the lord of the gods, Hari, appeared on that very spot, bearing the shell and the discus, (23) and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: 'That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, (24) belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art at the head of them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' 25. Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vishṉu, (26) he (S'iva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vishṉu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishṉu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishṉu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhā[114] kāṉḍa of the Rāmāyaṉa, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of S'iva as residing there:[115]

Kishk. 44, 27 ff. (ed. Gorresio = Bombay ed. 43, 20 f.).—*Tam̃ tu*

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[114] In the Bombay edition this word is written 'Kishkindhā,' without a *y* before the final *ā*, which it has in Gorresio's edition.

[115] See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kāṉḍa, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or mount Kailāsa.

śīghram atikramya kāntāraṁ loma-harshaṇam | *pāṇḍuraṁ drakshyatha tataḥ Kailāsaṁ nāma parvatam* | *tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhaṁ Jāmbūnada-parishkṛitam* | *Kuvera-bhavanaṁ divyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇā* | "Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

The Bombay edition, 43, 54 ff., has the following lines, in which Rudra may be referred to: *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ* | *tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān* | 55. *Sa tu deśo visūryo 'pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate* | *sūrya-lakshmyā 'bhivijneyo tapateva Vivasvatā* | 56. *Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātmā S'ambhur ekādaśātmakaḥ* | *Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarshi-parivāritaḥ*[116] | 54. "Beyond this monarch of mountains is the northern ocean, in the midst of which stands the great golden mountain, called Somagiri. 55. With its lustre that region, although sunless, shines; and is distinguished by a solar splendour, as if from the beams of Vivasvat (the sun). 56. There the divine soul of the universe, the eleven-fold S'ambhu, Brahmā, lord of the gods, dwells, attended by the Brahman Rishis."

In Gorresio's edition (44, 117 ff) this passage shows a number of various readings: *Kurūṁs tān samatikramya uttare payasāṁ nidhiḥ* | *tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān* | 118. *Indra-loka-gatāḥ ye cha Brahma-loka-gatāś cha ye* | *sarve te samavaikshanta girirājaṁ divaṁ gatāḥ* | 119. *Asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsā prakāśate* | *sasūryaḥ iva lakshmīvāṁs tapatīva divākare* | 120. *Bhagavāṁs tatra bhūtātmā Svayambhūr bahudhātmakaḥ* | *Brahmā bhavati vaśyātmā sarvātmā sarva-bhāvanaḥ* | 117. "Beyond, to the north of the Uttara Kurus, is an ocean, in which is a great mountain, as it were of gold. 118. All those who have gone to the sky, to the world of Indra, or to that of Brahmā, have beheld the king of mountains. 119. By its light that region shines, although sunless, as if it had a sun, and resplendent as if the lord of day were blazing. 120. There the divine soul of beings, Svayambhū, Brahmā, dwells, self-subdued, the soul, and producer of all things." Here there is no reference to Mahādeva, Svayambhū being substituted for S'ambhu.

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[116] The commentator thus explains this verse: *Viśvam atati vyāpnoti iti viśvātmā vyāpakas tena Vishṇu-rūpaḥ* | *vishṇu-vyāptāv ity anusārāt* | *sa eva S'ambhuḥ śam bhavaty asmāt* | *sa eva ekādaśātmakaḥ ekādaśānuvākārthaikādaśa-rudrātmakaḥ* | *sa eva Brahmā bṛiṁhaṇatvāt jagat-srashṭṛitvāt* | "*Viśvātmā* means, he who pervades all things; and consequently he is in the form of Vishṇu, as Vishṇu has the sense of pervader. The same being is S'ambhu, he from whom prosperity (*śam*) arises (*bhavati*); and he is also elevenfold, in the form of the eleven Rudras, who signify eleven repetitions of him (?). The same being is also Brahmā, from his increasing,—creating the world."

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio's recension of the Rāmāyaṇa is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Bombay edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Tam̃ tu deśam atikramya Triśṛingo nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kānchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tīkshṇa-śrotās taranginī | nadī naika-grahākīrṇā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī | tasyaikam̃ kānchanam̃ sṛingam parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūrya-mayam ekancha śailasyāsya samuchhṛitam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu babhūva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānām̃ Viśvakarmeti viśrutaḥ | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | āsīt triśikharaḥ śailaḥ pravṛittās tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | kṛitvā 'bhavad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila sam̃sthānam̃ saro vai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ pravṛittā Sarayūr ghora-nakravatī nadī | deva-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | praviśanti na tam̃ deśam pradīptam iva pāvakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahādevābhipālitam | ityādi |* "When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Triṣṛinga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of lapis lazuli. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient Agnihotra sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandharvas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva," etc.

In regard to the story of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5 ff., the story from the Nirukta in p. 9, above, and the S'atap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 14.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena ha etena Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ īje | teneshṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāṇi bhūtani idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati yaḥ evam vidvān sarvamedhena yajate yo vā etad evam veda* | 15. *Taṁ ha Kaśyapo yājayānchakāra | tad api Bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jagau | "na mā martyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mandaḥ āsitha | upamankshyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te sangaraḥ Kaśyapāya" iti* | "With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the Sarva-medha ('universal sacrifice'), or he who thus knows this. 15. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the Earth recited a verse:[117] 'No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain.'"

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter "became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds." Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 131 and 133, pp. 376 and 377; and Mahābhārata, Sāntip. 241, quoted in a note to p. 372, vol. v., of this work. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmāyaṉa and S'atapatha Brāhmaṉa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, or Bhuvana, and therefore not eternal. It is to be noted, however, that the S'atap. Br. speaks of this Viśvakarman as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

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[117] The commentator observes on this: *Asmai cha Viśvākarmā bhūmiṁ dātum iyesha tatra cha kāle Bhūmir api imaṁ ślokaṁ gītavatī | tvaṁ tu mandaḥ mandamatir janaḥ āsitha babhūvitha jātaḥ ity arthaḥ | upa-śabdo ni-śabdasya arthe | yaś cha aśakyam pratijānīte mandaḥ ity abhiprāyaḥ* | "Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the Earth also sang this verse. Thou wast 'dull,' dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *ni*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish." Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, v. 10209 (in the first vol. of this work, p. 451), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Paraśurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid.* p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).

In the next passage[118] Mahādeva is represented as visiting Kuvera on Mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divinity of Rāma:

Rām. (ed. Gorresio) v. 89, 6 ff.—*Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām īśvaraḥ prabhuḥ | tataḥ sabhāyām̃ devasya rājno Vaiśravaṉasya saḥ | dhanādhyaksha-sabhām̃ devaḥ prāpto hi Vṛishhabha-dhvajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṉaiś cha bahubhir vṛitaḥ | avatīrya vṛishāt tūrṉam mahitaḥ śūla-dhṛig vibhuḥ | gires tasya mahātejaḥ pravishṭas tu sabhām̃ Haraḥ | Ṛiddhyā sahāya-yuktaś cha tathā Vaiśravaṉaḥ svayam | anyonyam̃ tau samālingya upavishṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyām̃ tatra tau devau te cha devāḥ yathākramam | upavishṭāḥ gaṉāś chaiva Yakshāś cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | aksha-dyūtam̃ tatas tābhyām pravṛittam̃ samanantaram | etasminn antare tatra Rākshasendram̃ Vibhīshaṉam | dṛishṭvā Paulastyam āyāntam̃ S'ivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayam̃ Vibhīshaṉaḥ praptaḥ śaraṉam tava pārthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto vīro Rākshasendra-vimānitaḥ | ityādi |*

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravaṉa (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, being received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (Kailāsa, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravaṉa himself, with Ṛiddhi (his wife),[119] and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods with the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yakshas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rākshasa Vibhīshaṉa, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Siva says to the lord of riches, 'This, O king, is the hero Vibhīshaṉa, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṉa),'" etc., etc.

While S'iva is speaking, Vibhīshaṉa arrives, and bows down before the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rākshasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīshaṇa stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when S'iva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Tam̃ dhyāyamānam bhagavān uvācha prabhur avyayaḥ | uttishṭhottishṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāśvatam | . . . . . 39. Tasmād uttishṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam | ādhārām̃ sarvabhūtānām̃ śāśvatam̃ niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānam̃ cha gatir gatimatām̃ varaḥ | kṛitsnasya jagato mūlam̃ tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam|* "The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrolled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).'" Vibhīshaṇa then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.[120]

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[118] This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devanāgarī recension which corresponds to it—viz. vi. 17, 1, ff.

[119] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* Ṛiddhi, and the Mahābhārata, Asuśāsana-parvan, 675, and 7637, as well as the Harivaṁśa, 7167, 7739, there referred to.

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[120] In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—iii. 30, 27 (ed. Bomb.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ S'vetāraṇye purā 'ndhakaḥ |* "[The Rākshasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was] formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta forest." (Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 336, where Rudra is called the slayer of Ardhaka.) iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): *Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripuram̃ vai vijigyushaḥ |* "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): "The Rākshasa trembled when smitten by Lakshmaṇa's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇāhatam̃ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram*). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. (Gorr. = Bombay ed. vi. 94, 35). *Hatair aśvaiḥ padātais cha tad babhūva raṇājiram | ākrīḍaḥ iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn |* "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpam bhagnasyorasi mushṭinā | Īśvareṇābhipannasya rūpam Paśupater iva |* "The appearance of Kumbha when shattered on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Pas'upati (S'iva) when overcome by Īśvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Īśvareṇa pralaya-kālena hetunā abhipannasya lokān abhisrastasya Paśupateḥ Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam babhūva ity arthaḥ |* The Bomb. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *babhau Rudrābhipannasya yathā rūpam̃ Gavāmpateḥ |* which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the lord of rays (the sun), overcome by Rudra" (*Rudreṇa abhipannasya abhibhūtasya Gavāmpateḥ Sūryasya iva.*) It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyaṇa published by Gorresio, had not understood the word Gavāmpati (lord of cows or rays) as designating the sun, when he took it for the equivalent of Pas'upati. Īśvara and Pas'upati are both names of Rudra; and he could not be assailed by himself. Gavāmpati occurs in the hymn to the Sun in the Mahābhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*), as one of the numerous names or epithets of the Sun.

From the passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata and Brāhmaṇas in p. 284, and pp. 200 and 202, note, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 288–291, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daksha's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vāyu and other Purāṉas (see Wilson's Vishṉu Purāṉa, pp. 61 ff.=pp. 120 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed., vol. i.).

This story is told, perhaps in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṉa, i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel and Bombay=68, 7 ff. Gorresio):

Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | *śrūyatām asya dhanusho yad-artham iha tishṭhati* | *Devarātaḥ iti khyāto Nimeḥ shashṭho* (*jyeshṭho*, Bomb. ed.) *mahīpatiḥ* | *nyāso 'yaṁ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanaḥ* | *Daksha-yajna-badhe pūrvaṁ dhanur āyamya vīryavān* | *vidhvasya tridaśān Rudraḥ salīlam idam abravīt* | "*yasmād bhāgārthino*[121] *bhāgān nākalpayata me surāḥ* | *varāngāni* [=*śirāṁsi*, Comm. in Bomb. ed.] *mahārhāṉi dhanushā śātayāmi vaḥ* | *tato vimanasaḥ sarve devāḥ vai muni-pungava* | *prāsādayanta deveśaṁ teshāṁ prīto 'bhavad Bhavaḥ* | *prītaśchāpi dadau teshaṁ tāny angāni mahaujasām* | *dhanushā yāni yāny āsan śātitāni mahātmanā* | *tad etad deva-devasya dhanū-ratnam mahātmanaḥ* | *nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tadā nyastaṁ asmākam pūrvake vibho* |[122]

"Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: 'Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: "Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your most precious heads with my bow." Then all the deities, being distressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.' "

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[121] *Svishṭakṛid-ādi-yajna-bhāgārthino mama* | "To me who desired a share in the Svishṭakṛid, etc., offering."—Comm.

[122] This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxviii. 13): *Tishṭhaty adyāpi bhagavan kule 'smakaṁ supūjitam* | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Vīrabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.[123]

The same story is told in the Sauptika-parvan, vv. 786–808, and in greater detail in the S'ānti-parvan, of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of Jvara, Fever), Umā, S'iva's wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, inquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daksha's horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: *Surair eva mahābhāge pūrvam etad anushṭhitam | yajneshu sarveshu mama na bhāgaḥ upakalpitaḥ | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgeṇa varavarṇini | na me surāḥ prayachhanti bhāgam̃ yajnasya dharmataḥ*[124] |

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[123] This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmayaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.=Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): *Tam̃ dṛishṭvā tejasā yuktam̃ vivyathur vana-devatāḥ | Dakshasyeva kratum̃ hantum udyatāstram Pinākinam* | "Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinākin (S'iva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha." Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kāmam paśum̃ Rudram̃ kruddham̃ Daksha-kratau yathā* | "Like the incensed Rudra who sought to slay the victim at the sacrifice of Daksha." (The Bomb. ed. iii. 65, 2, has a quite different reading: *Dagdhu-kāmam̃ jagat sarvam̃ yugānte cha yathā Haram* | "Like Hara [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.") And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato visphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān iva sankruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-jighām̃sayā* | "Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice." Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: *Sa taiḥ parivṛito ghoraiḥ rākshasair nṛi-varātmajaḥ | Mahādevaḥ pitṛi-vane gaṇaiḥ pārśva-gatair iva* | "This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rākshasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery." (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: *Tithishv iva Mahādevo vṛitaḥ pārishadām̃ gaṇaih.*) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) S'iva is called the lord of demons (*gṛiham Bhūtapater iva*).

[124] The same words nearly are put into the mouth of Mahādeva in the Vāyu-purāṇa. See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i., p. 126, of Dr. Hall's ed.

"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully (*dharmataḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, S'iva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by S'iva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born, Jvara (fever), which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to S'iva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato 'hi surāḥ sarve bhāgam̃ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. S'iva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmaṇā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpite | bhagavantam̃ tathety āha . . . . parāncha prītim agamad utsmayam̃ścha Pināka-dhṛik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgam̃ yathoktam Brahmaṇā Bhavaḥ*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daksha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhīchi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tān dṛishṭvā manyunā "vishto Dadhīchir vākyām abravīt | "nāyam̃ yajno na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijyate | badha-bandham prapannāḥ vai kinnu kālasya paryayaḥ | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vināśam paryupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoram̃ na budhyanti mahādhvare" | Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhyāna-chakshushā | sa paśyati Mahādevam̃ devīncha vara-dām śubhām | Nāradancha mahātmānam̃ tasyāḥ devyāḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramam̃ lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve yeneśo na nimantritaḥ*[125] *| tasmād deśād apākramya Dadhīchir vākyam abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchchaiva pūjyānānchāpy apūjanāt | nṛi-ghātaka-samam pāpam̃ śaśvat prāpnoti mānavaḥ*[126] *| anṛitam̃ nokta-pūrvam me na cha*

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[125] A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.

[126] The account of Daksha's sacrifice given in the Vāyu-purāṇa, and translated by Prof. Wilson, V.P. (vol. i., pp. 122 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.), has a good many lines which correspond nearly with some in this passage of the Mahābhārata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.

vakshye kadāchana | *devatānām ṛishīṉām̃ cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham* | *āgatam Paśubhartāram̃ srashṭāram̃ jagataḥ patim* | *adhvare yajna-bhoktāram̃ sarveshām paśyata prabhum* | *Dakshaḥ uvācha* | *Santi no bahavo Rudrāḥ śūla-hastāḥ kapardinaḥ* | *ekādaśa-sthāna-gatāḥ nāham̃ vedmi Maheśvaram*[127] | *Dadhīchir uvacha* | *sarveshām eva mantro 'yam̃ yenāsau na nimantritaḥ*[128] | *yathā 'ham S'ankarād ūrdhvam̃ nānyam paśyāmi daivatam* | *tathā Dakshasya vipulo yajno 'yam̃ na bhavishyati* | *Dakshaḥ uvācha* | *etan makheśāya suvarṉa-pātre haviḥ samastam̃ vidhi-mantra-pūtam* | *Vishṉor nayāmy apratimasya*[129] *bhāgam prabhur vibhuś chāhavanīya eshaḥ* | *Devy uvācha* | *kim nāma dānam̃ vishamam̃ tapo vā kuryām aham̃ yena patir namādya* | *labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo ardham tathā bhāgam atho tṛitīyam* | *evam bruvāṉām bhagavān sva-patnīm prahṛishṭa-rūpaḥ kshubhitām uvācha* | *na vetsi mām̃ devi kriśodarāngi kim nāma yuktam̃ vachanam makheśe* | *aham̃ vijānāmi viśāla-netre dhyānena hīnāḥ na vidanty asantaḥ* | *tavādya mohena cha sendra-devāḥ lokās trayaḥ sarvataḥ eva mūḍhāḥ* | *mām adhvare śamsitāraḥ stuvanti rathantaram̃ sāma-gāś chopagānti* | *mām brāhmaṉāḥ brahma-vido yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpayante cha bhāgam* | *Devy uvācha* | *suprākṛito 'pi purusho sarvaḥ strī-janasam̃sadi* | *stauti garvāyate chāpi svam ātmānam na sam̃śayaḥ* | *Bhagavān uvācha* | *nātmānam̃ staumi deveśi paśya me tanu-madhyame* | *yam̃ srakshyāmi varārohe yāgārthe vara-varṉini* |

"Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake: 'This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.' Having so spoken, this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation: he sees Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi, versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus: 'By worshipping that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold Paśubhartṛi (S'iva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.' Daksha replied: 'We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair, who occupy eleven places.[130] I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhīchi answered: 'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive S'ankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daksha shall not be prosperous.' Daksha spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishṇu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishṇu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'[131] Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, O large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (*brahma*), adore me, and Adhvaryu (i.e. Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.'[132] Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.'" Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daksha's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly inquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Vīrabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god (*varaṁ krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānaṁ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daksha sings the praises of Maheśvara.[133] The latter then appears, and assents to Daksha's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless (vv. 10338 ff.). Daksha then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

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[127] A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vāyu Purāṉa.

[128] The corresponding line runs thus in the Vāyu Purāṉa: *Sarveshām eka-mantro 'yam̃ yeneśo na nimantritaḥ*; which Prof. Wilson thus renders: "The invocation that is not addressed to Īśa is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons."

[129] Instead of *bhāgam*, etc., the Vāyu Purāṉa reads *sarvam prabhor vibhor hy āhavanīya-nityam.*

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[130] Compare the phrase *ekādaśātmaka* above, p. 367.

[131] Prof. Wilson (p. 124 f.) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhīcha and Daksha, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daksha, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to S'iva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarveshv eva hi yajneshu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitaḥ | na mantrāḥ bhāryayā sārdham̃ S'ankarasyeti neshyate*). Dadhīcha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (*sa stūyate sahasrām̃śuḥ sāmagādhvaryu-hotṛibhiḥ | paśyainam̃ Viśvakarmāṇam̃ Rudram mūrti-trayīmayam*). Daksha replies that the twelve Adityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye ete dvādaśādityāḥ Āditya-yajna-bhāginaḥ | sarve sūryāḥ iti jneyāḥ na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam ukte tu munayaḥ samāyātāḥ didṛikshavaḥ | vāḍham ity abruvan Daksham̃ tasya sāhāyya-kāriṇaḥ*). These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daksha's neglect of S'iva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc., etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2–7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata, and some interesting illustrations of the hostility between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, or between the former and the more orthodox adherents of the Vedas, which, notwithstanding the conciliation of the conflicting views introduced by the writer at the close of the story, no doubt had, and perhaps still has, a real existence in the minds of many of the sectaries. Satī, the wife of .S'iva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīm Dakshaḥ upayeme hy Ajātmajah | tasyām sasarja duhitṛīḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodaśādād Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitṛibhyaḥ ekām yuktebhyo Bhavāyaikām bhava-chhide |* "Daksha, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. From her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united, *saṁyatebhyo militebhyo vā*, Comm.] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (S'iva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to S'iva. i. 64. *Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavam devam anuvratā | ātmanaḥ sadṛiśam putram na lebhe guṇa-śīlataḥ |*

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[132] The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65 =p. 128 of Dr. Hall's ed. vol. i.) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhvare śaṁsitāraḥ stuvanti rathantare sāma gāyanti geyam | abrāhmaṇe brahma-satre yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpayante cha bhāgam |* "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sāma song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the adhvaryus divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed "without Brahmans." But what are we to make of the word "adhvaryu"? Could it mean, in later times at least, anything else than the Brahmanical priest so called?

[133] In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nāhūyate tatra Viśvakarmā Maheśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 368 f., and note 131, p. 376. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daksha had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again, or recapitulated.

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daksha. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatis. On the entrance of Daksha, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Virinchya (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daksha, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Siva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): *Prān nishaṇṇam Mṛidam dṛishṭvā nāmṛishat tad-anādṛitaḥ | uvācha vāmam chakshurbhyām abhivīkshya dahann iva | śrūyatām brahmarshayo me saha-devāḥ sahāgnayaḥ | sādhūnām bruvato vṛittam nājnānād na cha matsarāt | ayam tu loka-pālānām yaśoghno nirapatrapaḥ | sadbhir ācharitaḥ panthāḥ yena stabdhena dūshitaḥ | esha me śishyatām prāpto yan me duhitur agrahīt | pāṇim viprāgni-mukhataḥ sāvitryāḥ iva sādhu-vat | gṛihītvā mṛiga-śāvākṣyāḥ pāṇim markaṭa-lochanaḥ | pratyutthānābhivādārhe vāchā 'py akṛita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāśuchaye mānine bhinna-setave | anichhann apy adām bālām śūdrāyevośatīm giram | pretāvāseshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | aṭaty unmattavad nagno vyupta-keśo hasan rudan | chitā-bhasma-kṛita-snānaḥ preta-sraṅ nrasthi-bhūshaṇaḥ | śivāpadeśo hy aśivo matto matta-janapriyaḥ | patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānām tamo-mātrātmakātmanām | tasmai unmāda-nāthāya nashṭa-śauchāya durhṛide | dattā mayā vata sādhvī chodite parameshṭhinā | vinindyaivam sa Giriśam apratīpam avasthitam | Daksho 'thāpaḥ upa-*

spṛiśya kruddhaḥ śaptum prachakrame | ayaṁ tu deva-yajane Indropendrādibhir Bhavaḥ | saha bhāgaṁ na labhatāṁ devair deva-gaṇādhamaḥ | "Beholding Mṛiḍa (Śiva) previously seated, Daksha did not brook his want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake: 'Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the gods and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world,—he by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed [daughter], has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda[134] to a Śūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's [skulls], and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Śiva (auspicious) but in reality Aśiva (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahmā.'[135] Having thus reviled Giriśa (Śiva), who did not oppose him, Daksha having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (S'iva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Vishṇu), and others.'" Having delivered his malediction, Daksha departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmans who took his part, by Nandīśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

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[134] *Uśatīṁ giram*, which the commentator explains *veda-lakshaṇāṁ giram*. It occurs also elsewhere in this same Purāṇa, as in iii. 16, 13, where the Comm. renders it by *kamanīyām*, "to be loved." See Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. v., p. 1204, *s.v.*

[135] The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:— *Vāstavas tv ayam arthaḥ | luptāḥ kriyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpatvāt | ataḥ eva nāsti śuchir yasmāt | amānine abhinna-setave iti cha chhedaḥ | tasya parameśvarasya madīyā mānushī kanyā kathaṁ yogyā syād iti lajjādinā dātum anichhann api tat-sambandha-lobhena dattavān | 'śūdrāyeti' anarhatva-mātre dṛishṭānto na hīnatve pūrvāpara-sva-vachana-virodhāpatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kaśchit śūdrāya vedam artha-lobhena dadāti | 'pretāvāseshv' ityādi sarvaṁ viḍambana-mātram iti | svayam eva āha 'unmatta-vad' iti | anyathā 'unmattaḥ' ity eva avakshyat | 'aśivaḥ' nāsti śivo yasmāt | amattaḥ | amatta-jana-priyaḥ | iti chhedaḥ | 'patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānām' iti bhakta-vātsalyam āha | tāmasān api dosham apanīya pāti iti | nashṭānām api śauchaṁ śuddhir yasmāt | dushṭeshv apy ete mayā anukampyāḥ iti hṛin mano yasya*

21 ff.—*Yaḥ etam martyam uddiśya bhagavaty apratidruhi | druhyaty ajnaḥ pṛithag-dṛishṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | gṛiheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu sakto grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantram̃ vitanutād*[136] *veda-vāda-vipanna-dhīḥ | buddhyā parābhidhyāyinyā vismṛitātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kāmaḥ so 'stu nitarām̃ Daksho vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām̃ karmamayyām asau jaḍaḥ | sam̃sarantv iha ye chāmum anu S'arvāvamāninam | giraḥ śrutāyāḥ pushpiṇyāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūriṇā | mathnā chonmathitātmānaḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dvishaḥ | sarva-bhakshāḥ dvijāḥ vṛittyai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmāḥ yāchakāḥ vicharantv iha |* "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daksha), and considering [S'iva] as distinct [from the supreme

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sa durhṛit tasmai | 'vata' iti harshe | Brahmaṇo vākyā[l?] lajjā-bhayādikam parityajya dattā ity arthaḥ | "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of *mānine* and *bhinna-setave*, the division of words may also be *amānine*, *abhinna-setave*, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words 'as to a S'ūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a S'ūdra.' The words 'in cemeteries,' etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says 'like a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' *Aśiva*, inauspicious, means he than whom none is more auspicious. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean 'not insane,' 'beloved by the not-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashṭa-śauchāya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhṛit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that 'even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.' *Vata* intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:' such is the sense."

[136] This is Burnouf's reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

spirit],—hates the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth. Devoted to domestic life, in which frauds are prevalent,[137] let him, from a desire of vulgar pleasures, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.[138] Forgetting the nature of soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daksha, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of S'arva (S'iva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (S'iva), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words[139] of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!"

The wrath of Bhṛigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse:

27 ff.—*Tasyaivam̃ dadataḥ śāpam̃ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhṛiguḥ pratyasṛijach chhāpam brahma-daṇḍam̃ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharāḥ ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pāshaṇḍinas te bhavantu sachchhāstra-paripanthinaḥ | nashṭa-śauchāḥ mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthi-dhāriṇaḥ | viśantu S'iva-dīkshāyam̃ yatra daivam̃ surāsavam | brahma cha brāhmaṇām̃ś chaiva yad yūyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam pum̃sām ataḥ pāshaṇḍam āśritāḥ | esha eva hi lokānām̃ śivaḥ panthā sanātanaḥ | yam pūrve chānusam̃tasthur yat-pramāṇam̃ Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramam̃ śuddham̃ satām vartma sanātanam | vigarhya yāta pāshaṇḍam̃ daivam̃ vo*

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[137] The words so rendered, *gṛiheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu*, occur thrice in this Purāṇa (see Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v. kūṭa-dharma*), viz., in iii. 30, 10; in iv. 25, 6; and in the verse before us. In his note on iii. 30, 10 (verse 9 in the Bombay edition) the commentator explains the word *kūṭa-dharmeshu* as meaning houses "in which frauds, practices such as roguery in regard to money, etc., prevail" (*kūṭāḥ vitta-śāṭhyādi-bahulāḥ dharmāḥ yeshu*). In his remarks on the other passages he gives no explanation of the word. In his translation of iii. 30, 10, M. Burnouf renders the term by "sa maison où dominent le mensonge [et la misère," *duḥkha-tantreshu*], in the verse before us by "attaché dans les maisons, à des vils devoirs"; and similarly in iv. 25, 6, by "au milieu des devoirs vulgaires d'un maître de maison."

[138] This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the S'aivas, that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated Scriptures of their own country.

[139] Compare the Bhagavad Gītā ii. 42 ff., quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 31 f.

yatra bhūta-rāṭ | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of S'iva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the veda (*brahma*) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious (*śiva*) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārdana (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda (*brahma*), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.'"

On hearing this imprecation, S'iva departed with his followers, while Daksha and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daksha being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, S'iva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being slighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, S'iva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajna-ghna-ghnena yajushā dakshiṇāgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Ṛibhus in consequence spring up, who put S'iva's followers to flight. S'iva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of S'iva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. *Rurujur yajna-pātrāṇi tathaike 'gnīn anāśayan* |

kun̲ḍeshv amūtrayan kechid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanta munīn anye eke patnīr atarjayan | apare jagṛihur devān pratyāsannān palāyitān | . . . 19. *juhvataḥ sruva-hastasya śmaśrūn̲i bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor lulunche sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhuvi | ujjahāra sadaḥstho 'kshn̲ā yaḥ śapantam asūsuchat | Pūshn̲aś chāpātayad dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyamāne gariman̲i*[140] *yo 'hasad darśayan dataḥ* | 15. "Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. . . . . 19. The divine Bhava (Śiva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, showing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who, when in the assembly, had made a sign to [Daksha when] cursing [Śiva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan[141] (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's), who (Pūshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Tryambaka (Śiva, or Vīrabhadra, according to the commentator) then cuts off the head of Daksha, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Vishn̲u, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises the gods to propitiate Śiva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. *athāpi yūyam̃ kṛita-kilvishāḥ Bhavam̃ ye barhisho bhāga-bhājam parāduḥ*). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Śiva "bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (v. 35. *lingancha tāpasābhīshṭam bhasma-dan̲ḍa-jaṭājinam | angena sandhyā-'bhra-ruchā chandra-lekhāncha bibhratam*). Brahmā addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Sakti and Śiva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Śiva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them" (vv.

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[140] *Gariman̲i gurutare Rudre* | Comm.

[141] See Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3, and other texts quoted above, pp. 200 ff., for the older story.

41 f. *jāne tvām īśam̃ viśvasya jagato yoni-vījayoḥ | S'akteḥ S'ivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etach Chhiva-S'aktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvam̃ sṛijasi pāsy atsi krīḍann ūrṇa-paṭo yathā*). (A similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Vishṇu in section 7.) Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him, who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daksha, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (v. 49. *Na yatra bhāgam̃ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuyajvinaḥ*). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daksha to have a goat's-faced head, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. (vv. 3 ff.) Daksha, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of S'iva (vv. 8 ff.). The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Vishṇu on three platters (v. 17. *Vaishṇavam̃ yajna-santatyai trikapālam̃ dvijottamāḥ | puroḍāśam̃ niravapan vīra-sam̃sarga-śuddhaye*). Hari (Vishṇu) being meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and S'iva (*Tryaksha*); is lauded successively by Daksha, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc., etc. (vv. 26 ff.), and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daksha and Mahādeva, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations, though in reality one in their essence:

V. 50. *Srī-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha S'arvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmeśvaraḥ upadrashṭā svayam̃dṛig aviśeshaṇaḥ |* 51. *ātma-māyām̃ samāviśya so 'ham guṇamayīm̃ dvija | sṛijan rakshan haran viśvam̃ dadhre sam̃jnām̃ kriyochitām |* 52. *tasmin Brahmaṇy advitīye kevale paramātmani | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenājno 'nupaśyati |* 53. *yathā pumān na svāngeshu śiraḥ-pāṇy-ādishu kvachit | pārakya-buddhim̃ kurute evam bhūteshu mat-paraḥ |* 54. *Trayāṇām eka-bhāvānām̃ yo na paśyati vai bhidām | sarva-bhūtātmanām brahman sa śāntim adhigachhati |*
50. "I am Brahmā and Sarva (S'iva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),

devoid of attributes. 51. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the [three] Guṇas (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. 52. In that one and only Brahma, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. 53. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]. 54. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence, and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity."

Daksha, after adoring Vishṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice (vv. 55 f.). Satī, the daughter of Daksha, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (v 58. *evaṁ Dākshāyaṇī hitvā Satī pūrva-kalevaram | jajne Himavataḥ kshetre Menāyām iti śuśruma*).[142]

The S'aiva compiler of the Linga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaishṇava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Vishṇu at the expense of S'iva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Vishṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

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[142] The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff.: *Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryām avindata | Daksha-kopāchcha tatyāja sā Satī svaṁ kalevaram | Himavad-duhitā sā 'bhūd Menāyāṁ dvija-sattama | upayeme punaś chomām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ |* "Rudra, being of the character thus described (*i.e.* one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā: see above, pp. 339 ff.) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daksha. She then became the daughter of Himavat and Menā; and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse]." In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daksha; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated (as is also Agni) among the Munis to whom Daksha's daughters were wedded: *Tābhyaḥ śishṭāḥ kanīyasyaḥ ekādaśa sulochanāḥ | Khyātiḥ Saty atha Sambhūtiḥ Smṛitiḥ Prītiḥ Kshamā tathā | Sannatiś chānusūyā cha Ūrjā Svāhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛigur Bhavo Marīchiś cha tathā chaivāngirāḥ muniḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahaś chaiva Kratuś charshi-varas tathā | Atrir Vasishṭho Vahniś cha Pitaraś cha yathā-kramam | Khyāty-ādyāḥ jagṛihuḥ kanyāḥ munayo muni-sattama |* "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daksha) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, *Satī*, Sambhūti, Smṛiti, Prīti, Kshamā, Sannati, Anusūyā, Ūrjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛigu, *Bhava*, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahni (*i.e.* Agni or Fire), and the Pitris,—these munis in order married Khyāti and the other maidens."

Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva:

Linga Purāṉa, i. 17, 5–52.—*Pitāmahaḥ uvācha | Pradhānam̃ lingam ākhyātam̃ lingī cha parameśvaraḥ | rakshārtham ambudhau mahyam̃ Vishṉos tv āsīt surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokam̃ saharshibhiḥ | sthitikāle tadā pūrṉe tataḥ pratyāhṛite tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satyalokam̃ gate surāḥ | vinā "dhipatyam̃ samatām̃ gate 'nte Brahmaṉo mama | śushke cha sthāvare sarve tv anāvṛishtyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānushāḥ vṛikshāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | gandharvādyāḥ krameṉaiva nirdagdhāḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekārṉave mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushṭe (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ | sahasra-śīrshāḥ viśvātmā sahasrākshaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajnaḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiraṉyagarbho rajasā tamasā S'ankaraḥ svayam | sattvena sarvago Vishṉuḥ sarvātmatve Maheśvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklaḥ kṛishṉas tu nirguṉah | Nārāyaṉo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā sadasanmayaḥ | tathā bhūtam aham̃ dṛishṭvā śayānam pankajekshaṉam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avocham amarshitaḥ | kas tvam̃ vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadā hasta-prahāreṉa tīvreṉa sa dṛidhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śayanāt samāsīnaḥ kshaṉam̃ vaśī | dadarśa nidrā-viklinnam̃ nīrajāmala-lochanaḥ | mām agre sam̃sthitam bhāsā'dhyāsito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuram̃ sakṛit | svāgatam̃ svāgatam̃ vatsa pitāmaha mahādyute | tasya tad vachanam̃ śrutvā smita-pūrvam̃ surarshabhāḥ | rajasā viddha-vairaś cha tam avocham̃ Janārdanam | bhāshase vatsa vatseti sarga-sam̃hāra-kāraṉam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitam̃ kṛitvā guruḥ śishyam ivānagha | kartāram̃ jagatām̃ sākshāt prakṛiteścha pravartakam | sanātanam ajam̃ Vishṉum̃ Virinchim̃ viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānam̃ vidhātāram̃ dhātāram pankajekshaṉam | kimartham bhāshase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi mām āha jagatām̃ kartā 'ham iti lokaya | bhartā hartā bhavān angād avatīrṉo mamāvyayāt | vismṛito 'si jagannātham̃ Nārāyaṉam anāmayam | purusham paramātmānam puru-hūtam purushṭutam | Vishṉum achyutam īśānam̃ viśvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāsty atra mama māyā-kṛitam̃ tv idam | śṛiṉu satyam̃ chaturvaktra sarva-deveśvaro hy aham | kartā netā cha hartā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva param Brahma param̃ tattvam pitāmaha | aham eva param̃ jyotiḥ paramātmā tv aham̃ vibhuḥ | yad yad dṛishṭam̃ śrutam̃ sarvam̃ jagaty asminś charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity atha |*

mayā sṛishṭam purā vyaktaṁ chaturviṁśatikaṁ svayam | nityāntāḥ hy aṇavo baddhāḥ sṛishṭāḥ krodhodbhavādayaḥ | prasādād hi bhavān aṇḍāny anekānīha līlayā | sṛishṭā buddhir mayā tasyām ahankāras tridhā tataḥ | tanmātra-panchakaṁ tasmād mano dehendriyāṇi cha | ākāśādīni bhūtāni bhautikāni cha līlayā | ity uktavati tasmiṁś cha mayi chāpi vachas tathā | āvayoś chābhavad yuddhaṁ sughoraṁ romaharshaṇam | pralayārṇava-madhye tu rajasā baddha-vairayoḥ | etasminn antare lingam abhavach chāvayoḥ puraḥ | vivāda-śamanārthaṁ hi prabodhārthaṁ tathā''vayoḥ | jvālā-mālā-sahasrāḍhyaṁ kālānala-śatopamam | kshaya-vṛiddhi-vinirmuktam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdeśyam avyaktaṁ viśva-sambhavam | tasya jvālā-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam prāha mām atra parīkshāvo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamishyāmy anala-stambhasyānupamasya cha | bhavan ūrdhvam prayatnena gantum arhasi (sic) *satvaram | evaṁ vyāhṛitya viśvātmā svarūpam akarot tadā | vārāham aham apy āśu haṁsatvam prāptavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhur haṁsaṁ haṁso virāḍ iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād māṁ haṁsaḥ sa bhavishyati | suśveto hy analākshaś cha viśvataḥ paksha-saṁyutaḥ | mano-'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chordhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi viśvātmā nīlānjana-chayopamam | daśa-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ śata-yojanam āyatam | Meru-parvata-varshmāṇaṁ gaura-tīkshṇāgra-dashṭriṇam | kālāditya-samābhāsaṁ dīrgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichitrāngaṁ jaitraṁ driḍham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gatavān adhaḥ | evaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Vishṇur adho gataḥ | nāpaśyad alpam apy asya mūlaṁ lingasya sūkaraḥ | tāvat kālaṁ gato hy ūrdhvam aham apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaraṁ sarva-yatnena tasyāntaṁ jnātum ichhayā | śrānto hy adṛishtvā tasyāntam ahankārād*[143] *adho gataḥ | tathaiva bhagavān Vishṇuḥ śrāntaḥ saṁtrasta-lochanaḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūrṇam utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samāgato mayā sārdham praṇipatya mahāmanāḥ*[144] *| māyayā mohitaḥ S'ambhos tathā saṁvigna-mānasaḥ | pṛishṭhataḥ pārśvataś chaiva chāgrataḥ parameśvaram | praṇipatya mayā sārdham sasmāra kim idaṁ tv iti | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-lakshaṇaḥ | om om iti sura-śreshṭhāḥ suvyaktaḥ pluta-lakshaṇaḥ | kim idam tv iti sanchintya mayā tishṭhan mahāsvanam | lingasya dakshiṇe bhāge tadā 'paśyat sanātanam | ādyaṁ varṇam a-kāraṁ tu u-kāraṁ chottare tataḥ | ma-kāram madhytaś chaiva nādāntaṁ tasya chom iti |*

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[143] In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīkshā*, the reading is *ahaṁ kālād*, which seems a preferable reading.

[144] *Bhayād muhuḥ*—reading in the Mataparīkshā.

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the Linga, and Parameśvara is called Lingin[145] (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishṇu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimānika[146] creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,[147] and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,[148] and all immovable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps[149] upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of the existence of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiraṇyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) S'ankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Vishṇu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre,[150] white, black, free from the three qualities, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the universal soul, having the essence both of entity and non-entity. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome, welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, O deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, O sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words 'child, child,' to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛiti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,[151] Virinchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Purusha, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, O four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is none equal to me, all-pervading. I, even I, O Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahma, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit, all-pervading. Whatever thing, movable or immovable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, O four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath[152] (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold ahankāra: from it the five tanmātras, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose in the sea of universal dissolution[153] between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, equal to a hundred final mundane conflagrations, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan.[154] Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.[155] Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of mundane destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Vishṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the Linga. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, O destroyers of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, without seeing its end; and so, too, the divine Vishṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of S'ambhu (S'iva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Parameśvara (S'iva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, O chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound "om, om," distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the Linga; the first letter a-kāra, after it u-kāra, ma-kāra in the centre, and Om as the result of the sounds.'"

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[145] *Lingādhishṭhānam* | Comm.

[146] *Vaimānike sarge deva-sarge* | Comm.

[147] "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vāyu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same work, p. 632, and note 7 (=pp. 227 ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.).

[148] *Lit.* "the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion."

[149] The reading of the Bombay text is here *pushṭe;* but some such word as *sete*, "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.

[150] *Kālānabha* is the term in the original. Perhaps the proper reading may be Kālanātha, "the lord of time," which occurs in the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. 10368. See Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.*

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[151] Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

[152] See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.

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[153] See the commencement of this extract.

[154] In the 5th and 6th sections of the S'iva-purāṇa "it is explained in a puerile and inept manner why Brahmā took the form of a swan and Vishṇu of a boar."—Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 63*b*.

[155] See the first volume of this work, pp. 9 and 36.

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word om and the other letters of the alphabet, etc., etc.

The eighteenth section of the same Purāṉa contains a hymn addressed by Vishṉu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishṉu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṉa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original:

Linga Purāṉa, 19, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avanīm̃ gatvā punar Nārāyaṉaḥ svayam* | *praṉipatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandataram̃ vaśī* | *"āvayor deva-deveśa vivādam ati-śobhanam* | *ihāgato bhavān yasmād vivāda-śamanāya nau"* | *tasya tad-vachanam̃ śrutvā punaḥ prāha Haro Harim* | *praṉipatya sthitam mūrdhnā kṛitānjali-puṭam smayan* | *S'rī-mahādevaḥ uvācha* | *pralaya-sthiti-sargāṉām̃ kartā tvam̃ dharaṉīpate* | *vatsa vatsa Hare Vishṉo pālayaitach charācharam* | *tridhā bhinno hy aham̃ Vishṉo Brahma-Vishṉu-Bhavākhyayā* | *sarga-rakshā-laya-guṉair nishkalaḥ parameśvaraḥ* | *sammoham̃ tyaja bho Vishṉo pālayainam Pitāmaham* | *pādme bhavishyati sutaḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ* | *tadā drakshyasi mām̃ chaivam̃ so 'pi drakshyati padma-jaḥ* | *evam uktvā sa bhagavām̃s tatraivāntaradhīyata* | *tadā-prabhṛiti lokeshu lingārchā supratishṭhitā* | *linga-vedī Mahādevī lingam̃ sākshād Maheśvaraḥ* | "The self-restraining Nārāyaṉa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (S'iva), spoke gently thus: 'Our dispute, O god of gods, has proved most auspicious,[156] since thou hast come hither to allay it.' Having heard these words, Hara (S'iva), smiling, again said to Hari (Vishṉu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined: 'Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the universe]: my child, my child, Hari, Vishṉu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a threefold manner under the names of Brahmā, Vishṉu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Vishṉu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprang from the lotus (Brahmā) shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the Linga has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the Linga is Mahādevī (Umā), and the Linga is the visible Maheśvara."

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[156] I cannot render this sentence, as it stands, otherwise than by taking *vivādam* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *śobhanam* as meaning *ubhayor api sama-balatvāch chhobhamānam*, "brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants"; and supplies *śamaya*, "appease, or stop, it" (*ataḥ śamaya ity adhyāhāraḥ*).

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the real origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishṉu Purāṉa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 f., makes him of Vishṉu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvam̃ sṛishṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekshāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jnānāḥ vīta-rāgāḥ vimatsarāḥ | teshv evam̃ nirapeksheshu loka-sṛishṭau mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṉo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dahana-kshamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṉo 'bhūt tadā sarvam̃ trailokyam akhilam mune | bhrukuṭī-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-sama-prabhaḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachaṉḍo 'ti-śarīravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam purushatvam̃ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushatvam̃ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvam̃ cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ |* "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and inflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white."[157]

In the same way the Harivanśa says (v. 43): *Tato 'srijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavam* | "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."

SECT. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.–iv. (pp. 299–355) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmaṇas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 355 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 176 f., 184 ff., 223–226, 230 ff., 240 f., 263, 266 ff., 278 ff., and 283–291), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with S'iva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, which will exhibit the modifications which the conception of this deity undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

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[157] See Professor Wilson's notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The S'āntiparvan of the Mahābhārata also speaks (vv. 13723 ff.) of Mahādeva, the three-eyed, and the great devotee, as having sprung from the forehead of Brahmā, of his coming to visit his father on the mountain Vaijayanta, and of his saluting him respectfully, falling at his feet, and being raised up by him with his left hand. Brahmā then proceeds to unfold to him the nature of Purusha. (*Atha tatrāsatas tasya Chaturvaktrasya dhīmataḥ | lalāṭa-prabhavaḥ putraḥ S'ivaḥ āgād yadṛichhayā | ākāśena mahāyogī purā trinayanaḥ prabhuḥ | tataḥ khād nipapātāśu dharaṇīdhara-mūrdhani | agrataś chābhavat prīto vavande chāpi pādayoḥ | tam pādayor nipatitaṁ dṛishṭvā savyena pāṇinā | utthāpayāmasa tadā prabhur ekaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | uvācha chainam bhagavāṁś chirasyāgatam ātmajam.*)

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (published, vol. i., 1st ed., in 1850, and 2nd ed. in 1866; and vol. ii. in 1854):

"We have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with S'iva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kaparddin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of S'iva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different signification—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of S'iva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kaparddin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to S'iva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus:* neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrtti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and S'iva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrtti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam*."[158]—(vol. i., pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

"Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes in any remarkable degree of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons;[159] and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the 'terrible Agni'; but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire."—(*Ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.)

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[158] Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i., chap. i., p. 140.

"Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4). With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R.V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness, to identify him with the Rudra of the Purāṇas."—(vol. ii., pp. ix. f.)

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii., 19–22 (published in 1853):

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 347 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Śatarudriya (see above, p. 322 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam, Sāyaṇa*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno*

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[159] See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.

'tishṭhat), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmans[160]) are terrified by it, *yad vai no 'yam̃ na him̃syād iti* ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains *śata-rudriya* by *śānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.[161] In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the S'atarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*manyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwühlen*) of heaven and earth,[162] must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmīr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:[163] numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility, and giver of happiness;'[164] but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śiva*); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

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[160] "In the Brūhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

[161] "The Ārshādhyāya of the *Chārāyaṇīya* School of the Kāṭhaka also (ii. 17) says: *S'atarudriyam̃ devānām̃ Rudra-śamanan.*" 'The S'atarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods.'

[162] "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varāha*, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image" (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

[163] "In R.V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the S'atarudriya."

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epithets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of S'iva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the S'atarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (*giriśa*, *giriśaya*, *giriśanta*, *giritra*), and those of *kapardin*, *vyupta-keśa*, *ugra*, and *bhīma*, *bhishaj* and *Śiva*, *śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (=*nīlakaṉṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikaṉṭha*, *hiraṉya-bāhu* (of flame), *vilohita*, *sahasrāksha* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial victims), *śarva* and *bhava*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets[165] are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Śiva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.[166] But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic Śiva; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed); the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Śiva."

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[164] Wilson, Introd. to Trans. of R.V., vol. i., quoted above, p. 394.

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 318 f. (published in 1853); and are reprinted in the volume entitled "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," published by their author in 1873:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root *vā*, 'blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They drive spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few.

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[165] "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus S'iva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karālī, to Agni," etc.

[166] "Hence he is also called Kālāgnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālāgnirudra Upanishad."

He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the 'ruler of men,' *kshayadvīra*;[167] his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Ṛik, at least in the Atharvan and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time, to propitiate him, he is addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connexion between the Vedic religion and the later Çiva-worship. Çiva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious'; not even in the Atharvan is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Çiva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Çiva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharvan shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (*īśāna*) of this world, possessed of divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might[168] (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,[169] mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 23, 11), wearing spirally-braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men (*nṛi-ghne*, iv. 3, 6).[170] His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*śiva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3;[171] vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii.

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[167] Compare the note on the sense of this word, above, p. 301 f.

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[168] Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishṇu and Indra above: see pp. 97 f. and generally sections i. and ii., chapter ii. above. And yet in R.V. ii. 39, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitṛi. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

[169] *Bhuvanasya pitaram.* Compare Raghuvanśa i., 1, where Parameśvara (Śiva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitarau*).

[170] In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruts, *āre gohā nṛihā vadho vo astu*: "Far be your kine-slaying, man-slaying bolt."

[171] In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.

29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages, and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishṇu) as an agent in producing, or a representative of, the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. There are, however, few, if any, distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin"; and even the word kapardin ("with spirally-braided hair"), which at a later period became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R.V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 301, note 7). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely indicated, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency (as Professor Weber remarks, see above, p. 397), and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life, are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and vice versâ; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṉu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R.V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression. Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with spirally-braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17–46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20, 21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, S'arva, Paśupati, etc., etc. (vv. 18, 28).[172] Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the S'atarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and S'arva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand, Bhava and S'arva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. S'arva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).[173]

In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) S'arva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations S'arva is declared to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhīkas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumāra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1), to whom the names of Rudra, S'arva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva. and Īśāna were successively given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the S'ānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 343 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 347 and 395 f.), appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 349), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya, which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

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[172] In the same Veda, xxxix. 8, we have the following gods, or appellations of one god, specified, viz., Agni, As'ani, Pas'upati, Bhava, S'arva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugra-deva, etc. (*Agnim̃ hṛidayena As'anim̃ hṛidayāgreṇa Pāśupatim̃ kṛitsna-hṛidayena Bhavam̃ yaknā | S'arvam matasnābhyām Īśānam manyunā Mahādevam antaḥparśavyena Ugram̃ devam̃ vanishṭhunā ityādi*).

[173] The Nirukta i. 15, as I have already remarked, p. 355, note 98, contains the first words of a text relating to Rudra which is given at length by the commentator Durga, and is cited and translated above. After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, this text appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer. As it is partially quoted in the Nirukta, this verse, though it does not appear whence it comes, must, unless interpolated, be of considerable antiquity.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rig-veda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R.V. ii. 1, 6, p. 306; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 333 and 338; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 22) to identify the different deities with one another may have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads I have quoted are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahābhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the S'atarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 321) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Pārvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,[174] is now his acknowledged consort.[175] In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Vishṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the "Linga" as the great generative power.

I have (above, pp. 192 f.) quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which the Linga is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet "mahāśepha" in p. 191 f., which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the Linga is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 197 ff.:

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrdhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān nṛiṇāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthāṇur iti smṛitaḥ* | . . . . . v. 7516. *Nityancha brahmacharyeṇa lingam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokāś cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanaḥ | vigraham pūjayed yo vai linyaṁ vā pi mahātmanaḥ | linga-pūjayitā nityam mahatīṁ śriyam aśnute | ṛishayas chāpi devāś cha gandharvāpsarasas tathā | lingam evārchayanti sma yat tad ūrdhvaṁ samāsthitam | ityādi* | "And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his Linga is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called Sthāṇu. . . . . 7516. And when his Linga remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The worshipper of the Linga, who shall adore the image (*vigraha*), or the Linga, of the great [god], enjoys continually great prosperity. It is the Linga, raised up, which the rishis, gods,

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[174] These passages will be quoted in the next section.

[175] It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the Oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of S'iva (under his different appellations of Bhava, S'arva, Rudra, and Mṛiḍa)—viz. Bhavānī S'arvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛiḍānī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-S'arva-Rudra-Mṛiḍa-himāraṇya-yava-yavana-mātulāchāryāṇām ānuk*). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī were never of any significance.

Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship." Compare with this extract verses 9616 f., 9625 and 9631 of the Droṇa-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of S'iva's names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160:

Ūrdhva-retāḥ ūrdhva-lingaḥ ūrdhva-śāyī nabhaḥ-sthitaḥ | v. 1191 *Lingādhyakshaḥ surādhyakshaḥ* . . . . *vījādhyaksho vīja-kartā* . . . . "He whose seed is raised up, whose Linga is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky." . . . . v. 1191. "The lord of the Linga, the lord of the suras (gods) . . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed."[176]

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Dr. Stevenson (Journal R. A. S., viii. 330[177]) and Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., i. 2nd ed. 924) imagine, it is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

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[176] In the Sauptika-parvan it is related that Mahādeva had been appointed by Brahmā to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so so long that Brahmā produced another creator, who performed his task. Mahādeva at last came, and seeing that the creation had already been effected, he became angry and split his Linga, which was then placed in the earth (v. 780 f.: *chukrodha bhagavān Rudro lingaṁ svaṁ chāpyavidhyata* | *tat praviddhaṁ tathā bhūmau tathaiva pratyatishṭhata*). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 31, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇo rākshaseśvaraḥ* | *jāmbūnadamayaṁ lingaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate* | 43. *Bālukā-vedi-madhye tu tal lingaṁ sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ* | *archayāmāsa gandhaiś cha pushpaiś chāmṛita-gandhibhiḥ* | "Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, went, a golden linga was carried thither. Placing that linga in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour." The commentator remarks on v. 43: *Tal lingaṁ jāmbūnadamayaṁ nitya-pūjā-lingam* | *Aiśvarya-kāmanayā hi tal-linga-pūjā Rāvaṇasya* | *Aiśvarya-kāmasya sauvarṇa-linga-pūjāyās tantreshūkteḥ* | "That golden linga was intended for constant worship. He worshipped it from the desire of sovereignty. For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden linga should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

[177] In this paper on "the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the "worship of S'iva, especially under the form of the Linga," is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, *i.e.* to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to S'iva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts: (1) that S'iva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later S'iva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daksha (see above, pp. 372 ff.), such as the general indisposition to acknowledge S'iva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 377, note 132), point to a recent introduction of S'iva's worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, vv. 11001 ff., cited

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śiśnadeva," which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda, had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the second volume of this work (p. 391, note 76). But I shall quote them again here with their obscure and difficult contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:

R.V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tvam Indra sravitavai apas kaḥ parishṭhitāḥ Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | tvad vāvakre rathyo na dhenāḥ rejante viśvā kṛitrimāṇi bhīshā | 4. Bhīmo vivesha āyudhebhir eshām apāṁsi viśvā naryāṇi vidvān | Indraḥ puro jarhṛishāṇo vi dūdhod vi vajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna | 5. Na yātavaḥ Indra jūjuvur no na vandanā śavishṭha vedyābhiḥ*[178] | *sa śardhad aryo vishuṇasya jantor mā śiśna-devāḥ api gur ṛitaṁ naḥ | 6. Abhi kratvā Indra bhūr adha jman na te vivyan mahimānaṁ rajāṁsi | svena hi Vṛitraṁ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antaṁ vividad yudhā te | 7. Devāś chit te asuryāya pūrve anu kshatrāya mamire sahāṁsi | Indro maghāni dayate vishahya Indraṁ vājasya johavantu sātau | 8. Kīriś chid hi tvām avase juhāva īśāṇam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | avo babhūtha śatam-ūte asme abhikshattus tvāvato varūtā |*

"3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Through thee the cows (rivers,

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in p. 284 of this volume); (4) that there is no connexion between the Linga and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the Linga worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a Linga temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishṇu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśveśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

[178] For the sense assigned to this word in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, see *s.v. vedyā*.

according to Sāyaṇa) have rolled on like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant [deity], of a truth any evil spirits. The glorious [Indra] defies the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the 'śiśna' approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, O Indra, hast surpassed in power, when thou runnest thy course. The worlds have not comprehended within them thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have yielded to thy divine power; their powers have bowed before thy sovereign might.[179] Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra in the combat. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, a defender against the assailant of him who is devoted to thee."

R.V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kaṁ naś chitram ishan̲yasi chikitvān pṛithugmānaṁ vāśraṁ vāvṛidhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyushṭau takshad vajraṁ Vṛitra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāma pṛithuṁ yonim asuratvā "sasāda | sa sanīḷebhiḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na ṛite saptathasya māyāḥ | 3. Sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpadā yan svarshātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya*[180] *vedo ghnan śiśnadevān abhi varpasā 'bhūt | 4. Sa yahvyo avanīr goshu arvā ā juhoti pradhanyāsu sasriḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathāḥ dron̲y-aśvāsaḥ īrate ghṛitaṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir aśasta-vāraḥ ṛibhvā hitvī gayam āre-avadyaḥ ā agāt | vamrasya manye mithunā vivavrī annam abhītya arodayat mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ tuvi-ravam patir dan shaḍ-akshaṁ tri-śīrshān̲aṁ damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han | 7. Sa druhvan̲e manushe ūrdhvasānaḥ ā sāvishad arśasānāya śarum | sa nṛitamo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhinad arhan dasyu-hatye |* "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to us for our delight! What an act of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the

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[179] "Ihre Kraft kommt deiner Herrscherkraft nicht gleich,"—Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v. mā+anu.*

[180] This word in the locative plural also occurs in R.V. i. 51, 3.

Vṛitra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them, he has gone to, and in hostile array besieged, inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the 'śisna,' he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the flowing rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth fertilizing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. Coming and plundering their food, he has, I believe, made the two unsheltered (children) of Vamra to weep. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped shaft. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)."[181]

The following is Sāyaṉa's explanation of the word "śiśnadeva" in the first of the preceding passages, R.V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *S'iśna-devāḥ* | *śiśnena dīvyanti krīḍanti iti śiśna-devāḥ* | *abrahmacharyāḥ ity arthaḥ* | *tathā cha Yāskaḥ* | . . . . "*śiśna-devāḥ abrahmacharyāḥ*" | . . . . "'Siśnadevāḥ' are those who sport with the śiśna (membrum virile), *i.e.* unchaste men; as Yaska says, 'Siśnadevāḥ' means the unchaste." Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyaṉa. He says that those men are called "śiśnadeva" who "are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances" (*śiśnena nityam eva prakīrṉābhiḥ strībhiḥ sākam krīḍantaḥ āsate śrautāni karmāṉy utsṛijya*). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by "Schwanz-götter."

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[181] Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages. —Note in first edition. I have made a good many alterations in the second edition.

It does not appear to me that Sāyaṇa's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word "deva" forms the last member of the compound, as "anṛita-deva" (vii. 104, 14) and "mūra-deva" (vii. 104, 24).[182] Sāyaṇa explains "mūra-devāḥ" as="māraṇa-krīḍāḥ," "those who make a sport of killing"; and he therefore takes "deva" there in the same sense as he does in "śiśna-deva." But in the other word, "anṛita-deva," he takes "deva" in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (*anṛitāḥ asatya-bhūtāḥ devāḥ yasya tādṛiśaḥ*). In the same way he understands "anti-devam" in R.V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word "anṛita-deva" is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyaṇa gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word "deva." Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyaṇa to "śiśna-deva" appear to be in itself a very probable one. For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R.V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4; x. 85, 37, and x. 86, 16, 17, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 307 f., 460 f). On the other hand, if the word "śiśna-deva" is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words "akarman," "adevayu," "anṛich," "anindra," "anya-vrata," "apavrata," "avrata," "abrahman," "ayajvan" "ayajyu" | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the second volume of this work, pp. 359 f., 371 ff.

It is, however, objected that "śiśna" cannot be taken as equivalent to "Linga," which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the "śiśna" denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. "Siśna" has also the sense of "tail," as in R.V. i. 105, 8, pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūsho na śiśnā vyadanti mā ādhyaḥ* mean, "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word "śiśnadevāḥ," if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the śiśna." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word "dasyu," viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the second volume of this work, pp. 362 ff.; 388 ff.), recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of "śiśna-deva," that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word "yātavaḥ" (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

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[182] The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* as=*mūladeva*, and as denoting a species of goblins.

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word "śiśnadeva" does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyaṇa, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the second vol. of this work (pp. 419 f.), Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume), on the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. S'iva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of his assertion in regard to the worship of S'iva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the south. In note 116, p. 370, of his ninth vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, had a golden serpent for his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Rākshasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kāṉḍa it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to S'iva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kāṉḍa to which Gorresio refers occurs, in the Bombay edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kāṉḍa, vv. 18 f. (=Sundara Kāṉḍa 78, 17, in Gorresio's ed.), and is as follows: *Tishṭha vā kim mahārāja śrameṉa tava vānarān* | *ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit kshapayishyati* | *anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam* | *ishṭvā yajnam̃ varo labdho loke parama-durlabhaḥ* | "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This Indrajit alone will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered an unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 184 ff., 283 ff.), by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not S'iva alone whom the Rākshasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṉa (cited above in p. 167) that Rāvaṉa had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā. At the same time it will be seen from a passage cited below from the Uttara Kāṉḍa 25, 9, that it was the sacrifice to Mahādeva, and not the one to Vishṉu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmā is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvaṉa's sons, in Rāmāyaṉa vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed): *Etenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā* | *astrāṉi chāpy avāptāni ripavaś cha parājitāḥ* | *surāsurair abadhyatvam̃ dattam asmai Svayambhuvā* | "By this contemplative (Rākshasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 28 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and of renowned strength" (*vṛiddha-sevī śruta-balaḥ*[183]). Rāvaṇa himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 ff. (Bombay ed. = vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.), his minister, Supārśva (Avindhya[184] in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-vrataḥ snātas sva-karma-niratas*[185] *tathā | striyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ vīra manyase Rākshaseśvara |* "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, who knowest the Veda, hast practised the prescribed discipline, and art an initiated householder, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhīshaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 23, Bombay ed. = vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Esho hitāgniś*[186] *cha mahātapāś cha vedāntagaḥ karmasu chāgrya-śūraḥ |* "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites."[187]

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[183] Instead of *śruta-balaḥ*, Gorresio's edition reads *śrutidharaḥ*, "an observer of the Vedas." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: *Vṛiddhāṁścha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidaḥ śuchīn | vṛiddha-sevī hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjyate |* "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rākshasas." Can this verse refer to the character *vṛiddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 28) quoted above? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connexion? The coincidence is at least curious.

[184] He is, as remarked by the commentator, also called Avindhya; and so in the (Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vv. 16148, 16492–6, and elsewhere).

[185] The commentator thus explains these words: *Veda-vidyā-grahāpekshita-brahmacharya-vrata-pūrva-vidyāṁ gṛihītvā | snātaḥ | guru-kulāt samāvṛittas tadanantaraṁ dāra-grahaṇa-pūrvaṁ nityāgnihotrādi-sva-karma-nirataḥ |* "One who has obtained a knowledge of the Veda after practising the discipline of continence required for the reception of such knowledge; and who, after returning from his preceptor's family, has married a wife, and continues devoted to the practice of the agnihotra and other indispensable rites." See Wilson's and Williams's Dictionaries, *s.vv. snāta* and *snātaka*, and Kullūka's note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

[186] *Esho hitāgnir ity ārshaḥ sandhiḥ | āhitāgnir iti chhedaḥ |* Comm.

[187] *Vedāntagaḥ | adhītopanishatkaḥ | karmasu agnihotrādishu | agryaśūraḥ | paramānushṭhātā parama-karmaṭhaḥ |* In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhīshaṇa thus speaks of Rāvaṇa: *Gataḥ setuḥ sunītānāṁ gato dharmasya vigrahaḥ | gataḥ satvasya sankshepaḥ suhastānāṁ gatir gatā | ādityaḥ patito bhūmau*

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), that Rāvaṉa was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator (in his note on verse 107) says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rākshasa-brahmans (*Rākshasa-dvijāḥ*).

Rāmāyaṉa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed.)—*Chitām̃ chandana-kāsṭhaiś cha padmakośīra-chandanaiḥ* | *brāhmyā*[188] *sam̃vartayāmāsuḥ rānkavāstaraṉāvṛitām* | *prachakruḥ Rākshasendrasya pitṛimedham anuttamam* | *vedīm̃cha dakshiṉāprāchīm̃ yathā-sthānancha pāvakam* | *pṛishadājyena sampūrṉam̃ sruvam̃ skandhe prachikshipuḥ* | *pādayoḥ śakaṭam prāpur ūrvoś cholūkhalam̃ tadā* | *dāru-pātrāṉi sarvāṉi araṉim̃ chottarāraṉim* | *dattvā tu musalam̃ chānyam̃ yathā-sthānam̃ vichakramuḥ*| *śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena*[189] *cha* | *tatra medhyam paśum̃ hatvā Rākshasendrasya Rākshasāḥ* | *paristaraṉikām̃*[190] *rājno ghṛitāktām̃ samaveśayan* | *gandhair mālyair alankṛitya Rāvaṉam̃ dīna-mānasāḥ* | *Vibhīshaṉa-sahāyās te vastraiś cha vividhair api* | *lājair avakiranti sma vāshpa-pūrṉa-mukhās tathā* | *sa dadau pāvakam̃ tasya vidhi-yuktam̃ Vibhīshhaṉaḥ* | *snātvā chaivārdra-vastreṉa tilān darbha-vimiśritān* | *udakeṉa cha sammiśrān pradāya vidhi-pūrvakam*[191] | "They formed,

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magnas tamasi chandramāḥ | "The bulwark of the righteous is gone; gone is the image of virtue; gone is the summary of goodness [or strength, Comm.]; the lot of heroes has been gained by him. The sun has fallen to the ground; the moon has been quenched in darkness," etc. And yet Vibhīshaṉa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), vv. 93 ff.

[188] *Veda-mārgānugata-kriyayā* | Comm.

[189] *Kalpa-sūtra-kṛid-ṛishi-vihitena* | Comm.

[190] *Paristīryate mukham anayā iti paristaraṉikā vapā* | *tām rākshasendrasya mukhe samaveśayan* | "*vapā 'sya mukham praurṉauti*" *iti sūtrāt* | Comm.; who seems therefore to understand *paristaraṉikā* of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred to in note 192). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which I quote: *Tīrthas tu anustaraṉikīm̃ rājnaḥ iti paṭhitvā anustaraṉikīm rājagavīm̃ tām ālabhya tachcharmaṉā yajamānam āstṛitavantaḥ ity arthaḥ* | "But Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads *anustaraṉikīm̃ rājnaḥ*, and explains the sense thus: having immolated a rājagavi (bos grunniens), they covered the sacrifice with its skin."

[191] I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): *Tatas te veda-vidvām̃sas tam rājnaḥ paśchimām̃ kriyām̃* | *chakrire rākshasendrasya preta-medham anuttamam* | *vedīncha dakshiṉa-prāchyām yathā-sthānam̃ cha pāvakam* | *Vibhīshaṉas tu samprāpya tūshṉīm̃ samasṛijat śruvam* | *pṛishadājyasya sampūrṉān śruvān sarvān yathāvidhi* | *Rāvaṉasya tadā sarve vāshpa-pūrṉa-mukhāḥ dvijāḥ* | *pādayoḥ śakaṭam̃ chakrur antarorāv udūkhalam* | *vānaspatyāni chānyāni antare 'pi vyadhāpayan* | *dattvā tu mushalam̃ chaiva yathāsthānam mahātmanaḥ* | *śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena cha* | *tataḥ paśchāt paśum̃ hatvā rākshasendrasya rākshasāḥ* | *athāstaraṉikam̃ sarvam̃ ghṛitāktam̃ samaveśayan* |

with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with "padmaka" wood, "uśīra" grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rākshasa prince, [placing] the sacrificial ground to the south-east and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder[192] (of the deceased); they placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and lower firewood (*araṇī*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Śāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with butter. They then, Vibhīshaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhīshaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form "tila" seeds mixed with "darbha" grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile]."[193]

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x.) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rākshasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

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[192] "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras" (*yadyapi "nāsike sruvāv" īty Āpastambenoktaṁ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandhe 'pi nikshepaḥ sruvasya bodhyaḥ*). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmans in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. vi. ff.

[193] On this whole passage the commentator remarks: "*Tatyajus tam mahābhāgam pancha-bhūtāni Rāvaṇam | śarīra-dhātavo hy asya māṁsaṁ rudhiram eva cha | neśur brahmāstra-nirdagdhāḥ na cha bhasmāpy adṛiśyata" iti Mahābhārate uktatvena kasya Vālmīkinā śmaśānānayana-pūrvakaṁ dāhaḥ uktaḥ iti chen na | tasya Rāma-vāṇa-tejo-varṇana-vishaye 'tyukty-alankāra-paratvād iti vadati* | "Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parvan 16529 f.) that 'the five elements forsook the great Rāvaṇa, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen;'—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's prowess the Mahābhārata makes use of the ornament of exaggeration."

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṉa, there is anything, except the "Rākshasa texts," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Bombay ed.), in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the Nikumbhilā as being offered to Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length:[194]

Rāmāyaṉa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—*Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kāriṉā | nirjito Bāli-putreṉa krodhaṁ chakre sudāruṉam | so 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṉiḥ raṉa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhilāyāṁ vidhi-vat Pāvakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvatas tasya tatrāgnau raktoshṉīshāmbara-srajaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntāḥ Rākshasāḥ yatra Rāvaṉiḥ | śastrāṉi śitadhārāṉi samidho 'tha vibhītakān | lohitāni cha vāsāṁsi sruvaṁ*

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[194] The Bombay edition (vi. 44, 32 ff.) gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows: *Brahma-datta-varo vīro Rāvaṉiḥ krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | adṛiśyo niśitān vāṉān mumochāśani-varchasaḥ |* "The son of Rāvaṉa, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, gleaming like lightnings." No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Bombay text. In Rāmāyaṉa, book v., sect 24 (Bombay ed.), it is related that the female Rākshasas had been threatening Sītā after her capture by Rāvaṉa, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, S'ūrpaṉakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 f.): *Surā chānīyatāṁ kshipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mānusham māṁsam āsvādya nṛityāmo 'tha nikumbhilām |* "And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all sorrows. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhilā." The comment on this passage states that the *Nikumbhilā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Lankā (*Nikumbhilā nāma Lankāyāḥ paśchima-bhāga-vartinī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāmaḥ tat-samīpaṁ gatvā nṛityāmaḥ*). In the Uttara Kāṉḍa (sect. 25, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṉa, with his attendants, entered "the Nikumbhilā, a grove in Lankā" (*tato nikumbhilā nāma Lankopavamam uttamam*). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Lankā for the performance of rites" (*Lankā-paśchima-dvāra-deśa-varti-karma-siddhi-hetu-bhūtaṁ kānanam*). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the "agnishṭoma," "aśvamedhha," "rājasūya," "gomedha" (cow-sacrifice), the Vaishṉava ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the Māheśvara offering, "which it is difficult for men to obtain," he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who appeared to him (*ibid.* verses 3 ff.). (This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 412.) But he had also been performing the Vaishṉava rite; which, however, is not said to have been productive of any results. Verses 7*b* ff. of this section are as follows: *Yajnās te sapta putreṉa prāptās te bahu-vistarāḥ | 8. Agnishṭomo 'śvamedhaś cha yajno bahusuvarṉakaḥ | rājasūyas tathā yajno gomedho Vaishṉavas tathā | 9. Māheśvare pravṛitte tu yajne puṁbhiḥ sudurlabhe | varāṁs te labdhavān putraḥ sākshāt Paśupater iha |* Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word "Bahusuvarṉaka" stands for a seventh.

kārshāyasaṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīrya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ | chhāgalasyāpi kṛishṇasya kaṇṭhād ādāya jīvataḥ | soṇitaṁ tena vidhivat sa juhāva raṇotsukaḥ | sakṛid eva samiddhasya vidhūmasya mahārchishaḥ | babhūvuḥ saṁnimittāni vijayaṁ yāny avedayan | pradakshiṇāvarta-śikhas tapta-hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitaḥ | tato 'gni-madhyād uttasthau kānchanaḥ syandanottamaḥ | chaturbhiḥ kānchanāpīḍair aśvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān dīpta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | hutāgnim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rākshasān | vāchayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktāśīr dvijātibhiḥ | āruroha rathaṁ śreshṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sva-vaśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ śastraiś cha vividhair yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇāditya-sannibhaḥ | babhūvendrajitaḥ ketur vaidūrya-samalankṛitaḥ | Hutvā 'gniṁ Rākshasair mantrais tato vachanam abravīt |

"But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, garments, and garland, the reverent Rākshasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself, rising, with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments; but became invisible, while glorious and lustrous as burning fire. Having satiated the sacrificial fire, with the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas, having caused a benediction (*svasti*) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, [Indrajit] ascended the beautiful chariot, moving invisibly, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . . 50. A golden serpent,[135] bright as the rising sun, and adorned with lapis lazuli, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rākshasa texts, he then spake," etc.

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[135] See, in reference to this, the quotation from Signor Gorresio given above in 412.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīshaṉa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed. = vi. 63, 13, of Gorr. ed.):

Chaityam̃ nikumbhilām adya prāpya homam̃ karishyati | *Hutavān upayāto hi devair api sa-vāsavaiḥ* | *durādharsho bhavaty esha sangrāme Rāvaṉātmajaḥ* | . . . . 16. *Sa-sainyās tatra gachhāmo yāvat tan na samāpyate* | . . . . 23. *Samāpta-karmā hi sa Rākshasarshabho bhavaty adṛiśyaḥ samare surāsuraiḥ* | *yuyutsatā tena samāpta-karmaṉā bhavet surāṉām api sam̃śayo mahān* | "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvaṉa is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,[196] that prince of the Rākshasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhīshaṉa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Bombay ed. = vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

Tena vīreṉa tapasā vara-dānāt Svayambhuvaḥ | *astram brahma-śiraḥ prāptam̃ kāmagāś cha turangamāḥ* | *sa esha saha sainyena prāptaḥ kila nikumbhilām* | *yady uttishṭhet kṛitam karma hatān sarvām̃ś cha viddhi naḥ* | *nikumbhilām asamprāptam akṛitāgnim̃ cha yo ripuḥ* | *tvām ātatāyinam̃ hanyāt Indraśatro sa te badhaḥ* | "This hero has obtained through austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called 'brahmaśiras,' and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his ceremony, you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee, thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,[197] and kindled the fire, this, O enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy death," etc.

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[196] It is related in the Uttara Kāṉḍa 30, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe. For a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, see the Appendix.

[197] Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilām̃ tad-yāga-bhūmim mahākālī-kshetram̃ tad-ākhya-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam* | "That sacrificial ground, the sacred precinct of the great Kālī—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (= vi 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . . *praviśya tu mahad vanam* | *adarśayata tat-karma-Lakshmaṉāya Vibhīshaṉaḥ* | *nīla-jīmūta-sankāśam̃ nyagrodham bhīmadarśanam* | *tejasvī Rāvaṉa-bhrātā Lakshmaṉāya nyavedayat* | *ihopahāram bhūtānām balavān Rāvaṉātmajaḥ* | *upahṛitya tataḥ paśchāt sangrāmam abhivartate* | *adṛiśyaḥ sarva-bhūtānām̃ tato bhavati Rākshasaḥ* | *nihanti samare śatrūn badhnāti cha śarottamaiḥ* | *tam apravishṭam̃ nyagrodham balinam̃ Rāvaṉātmajam* | *vidhvam̃saya śarair dīptair ityādi* |

It is related in the following section (86, 14, f., Bombay ed. = 65, 12 Gorr.) that he rose before his rite had been completed:

Svam anīkam̃ vishaṉṉam̃ tu dṛishṭvā śatrubhir arditam | udatishṭhata durdharshaḥ sa karmaṉy ananushṭhite | vṛikshāndhakārād nirgamya jātakrodhaḥ sa Rāvaṉiḥ | ityādi | "Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākshasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṉa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṉḍa, or Fifth Book, sect. 89, vv. 22 ff. (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Bombay ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p. 370, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Vibhīshaṉa with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṉa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent S'iva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākshasas, he might have been expected to describe this deity as repaying their worship with especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent S'iva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākshasa camp.

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yuddha Kāṉḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed.), wherein Rāvaṉa defies Vishṉu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Vishṉu's worship (particularly as Indra, S'iva, and Brahmā are also slightingly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. Even while the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Vishṉu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvaṉa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṉa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṉa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṉa supplies any sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of S'iva.[198]

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Siva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.[199]

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra, or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv., p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him, and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain what this apparition was. When, in answer to Brahma's inquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2):

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[198] It is also related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākshasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vishṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 31, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of S'iva among the southern races more than among the northern.

[199] Rodasī is his wife according to the Nirukta xi. 49; and xii. 46; *Rodasī Rudrasya patnī*. Sāyaṇa, however, on R.V. i. 167, 4 and 5, says that she is the wife of the Maruts. On v. 4 his words are: *Tasya* (*Rudrasya*) *strī Rodasī iti kechid āhuḥ | apare tu Marutām striyo Rodasī iti nāmadheyam ity āhuḥ | ayam eva paksho yuktaḥ uttaratra evaṁ vyavahārāt |* "Some say Rodasī is Rudra's wife. Others say Rodasī is the name of the wife of the Maruts. This is the correct view, from the word being so applied afterwards" (in the next verse). On verse 5 Sāyaṇa says: *Rodasī Marut-patnī vidyud vā.* "Rodasī is the wife of the Maruts, or Lightning." In this verse she receives the epithet of *vishita-stukā*, "having dishevelled hair," and is said to seek the society of the Maruts (*Joshad yad īm asuryā sachadhyai vishita-stukā Rodasī nṛimaṇāḥ*). I doubt if she is much, if at all, noticed in the later literature. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 148 and 345.

Atha Indram abruvan "Maghavann etad vijānīhi kim etad yaksham" iti | *"tathā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmāt tirodadhe* | 12. *Sa tasminn eva ākāśe striyam ājagāma bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatīm* | *tām ha uvācha kim etad yaksham iti* | iv. 1. *Sā Brahma iti ha uvācha Brahmaṇo vai etad-vijaye mahīyadhvam iti* | *tato ha eva vidānchakāra Brahmeti* | "They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this apparition is.' He replied, 'So be it;' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī. To her he said, 'What is this apparition?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, exult.' By this he knew that it was Brahma."[200]

In his remarks[201] on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.), Professor Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya,[202] who had become developed into the conjoint representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R.V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahman (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

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[200] This is explained by the commentator: *Tasya Indrasya yakshe bhaktim buddhvā Vidyā Umā-rūpiṇī prādurabhūt strī-rūpā* | *sa Indras tām Umām bahu śobhamānām sarveshām hi śobhamānānām śobhanatamām Vidyām tadā "bahu śobhamānā" iti viśeshaṇam upapannam bhavati* | *Haimavatīm hema-kritābharaṇavatīm iva bahu śobhamānām ity arthaḥ* | *athavā Umā eva Himavato duhitā Haimavatī nityam eva sarvajnena Īśvareṇa saha vartate iti jnātum samarthā iti kritvā tām upājagāma Indras tām ha Umām kila uvācha paprachha kim etad darśayitvā tirobhūtam yaksham* | "Knowing Indra's devotion to this apparition, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] to her whó was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet 'very resplendent' is then established. 'Haimavatī' means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umā Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Īśvara (Mahādeva) is able to know. With this belief Indra approached Umā, and said to her, 'What is this apparition which appeared and vanished?'"

[201] Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

[202] See above, pp. 163 and 298.

"But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahmaṇ and the gods? According to S'aṅkara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umārūpiṇī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyaṇa, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150, p. 787 of the text in the Bibliotheca Indica), when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks: *Himavat-putryāḥ Gauryāḥ brahma-vidyābhimānirūpatvād Gaurī-vāchakaḥ Umā-śabdo brahma-vidyām upalakshayati* | *ataḥ eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ paṭhyate "bahu śobhamānām Umām̃ Haimavatīm̃ tām̃ ha uvācha" iti* | *tad-vishayaḥ Paramātmā*[203] *Umayā saha vartamānatvāt Somaḥ* | '[Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: "He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī. The supreme Spirit, who is the object of this Divine Knowledge, from his existing together with Umā, is called Soma (i.e. *Sa+Uma.*"]'[204] And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 48, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha vartamāna Soma paramātman* | 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, O Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhartre* | 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word *Umāpataye* (which stands in the Drāviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyāḥ eva brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umā-śabdenochyate tasyāḥ svāmine* | 'Her (Ambikā's) body, consisting of divine knowledge, is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,' etc.[205] This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression 'Umā-sahāya' in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 363) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the commentaries in other places also[206] explain 'soma' by 'Umayā sahita,' 'accompanied by Umā' (as Sāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting 'Brahma-vidyā,' 'divine knowledge,' and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connexion with the sacred word 'om.' There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with the Himavat? Is it that the Brahma-vidyā (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vācham śikshitum*), and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himālaya than was possible for men living in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For—not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.), and so S'iva's, would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatī, to place the emphasis not upon the Himavat, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the S'atarudriya (see above, p. 322), Giriśa, Giriśanta, Giriśaya, Giritra, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of S'iva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavatī, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;[207] and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183).[208] Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as

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[203] [The word *Paramātmā* is not in the text as given by Weber.]

[204] [The same explanation of Soma is given in the Atharvaśiras Upanishad. See above, p. 302.]

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[205] [The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms *Ambikāpataye* and *Umāpataye*, as given in the Bibl. Indica, are as follows: Text: *Namo hiraṇyabāhave hiraṇyavarṇāya hiraṇyarūpaya hiraṇyapataye Ambikāpataye Umāpataye paśupataye namo namaḥ* | Comm.: *Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī* | *tasyāḥ pataye bhartre* | *tasyāḥ eva Ambikāyāḥ brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umāśabdena uchyate* | *tādṛiśyāḥ Umāyāḥ pataye svāmine Rudrāya punaḥ punaḥ namaskāro 'stu.*]

[206] *e.g.* Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding passage of the Taitt. Sanhitā.

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[207] Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvatī also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamā, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame s'ikhare jātā parvata-mūrdhani*). According to this view, *Umā* and *Sarasvatī*, *Ambikā* and *Ambitamā*, *Pārvatī* and the *parvata-mūrdhani jātā*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadā of the Taitt. Ār. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatī." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connexion of Umā and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 430) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J.M.]

[208] See above, p. 321.

Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 3, 57,[209]—just as Rudra was called S'iva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root 'u,' 'av,' 'to protect.' It is true that a final vowel before 'ma' commonly takes 'guṇa,' or is lengthened, but the words 'sima' and 'hima' show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive it from 'ram') a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Īśvara, and thus also as Brahma; *i.e.* it would belong to the period of some S'aiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of S'iva's spouse. As in S'iva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,[210] and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛiti, the goddess of all evil.

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[209] [The words of Mahīdhara here referred to are: *Yo 'yaṁ Rudrākhyaḥ krūro devas tasya virodhinaṁ hantum ichhā bhavati tadā anayā bhaginyā krūradevatayā sādhanabhūtayā taṁ hinasti* | "This cruel god called Rudra desires to slay his enemy. Then by the instrumentality of this sister, a cruel goddess, he destroys him." Then follow the words quoted above in p. 321, note 40, at the end.]

[210] "The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishṭhira to Durgā, where he calls her *Yaśodā, Kṛishṇā*, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' 'sister of Vāsudeva,' 'enemy of Kansa,' and 'having the same features as Sankarshaṇa,' etc., etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."

"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228[211]). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyakumārī*[212] *dhīmahi | tan no Durgiḥ prachodayāt |* ['We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyakumāri; may Durgi advance us.']

. . . "Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it,[213] and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads.

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[211] In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ār. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ār., viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumāriṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgiḥ prachodayāt*, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumāriṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the third volume of this work, p. 263 f., this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: *Kātyāyanyai vidmahe Kanyākumāryai dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

[212] The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyakumārim* as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has *Kanyākumārī.*

[213] Sāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | Hema-prakhyām indu-khaṇḍānka-maulim* [*-āntamaulim*, in Bibl. Ind.] *ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrti-dharāṁ* [*-rīṁ*, B. I.] *Durgām prārthayate "Kātyāyanāya" iti | kṛittiṁ vaste iti Kātyo* [*Kārtyo*, B. I.] *Rudraḥ |* . . . . *sa eva ayanam adhiṣṭhānaṁ yasyāḥ sā Kātyāyanī* [*Kārtyayanī*, B. I.] *Athavā Katasya ṛishi-viśeshasya apatyaṁ Kātyaḥ |* . . . . *Kutsitam anishṭham mārayati iti kumārī kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumārī cha Kanyākumārī | Durgiḥ Durgā | lingādi-vyatyayaḥ savatra chhāndaso drashṭavyaḥ |* [There are other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.] . . . . "Then follows Durgā's gāyatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the śāstras 'as bright as gold, and having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.' Kātya is he who wears a skin, Rudra . . . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyākumārī. Durgi is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas."

All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz. Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṇmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Vishṇu, Nārasinha, Āditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of S'iva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kātyāyanī this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. Kanyākumārī, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, *i.e.* of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of S'iva himself (whose name Nīlakaṇṭha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Νελκύνδα of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (Āndhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said[214] in the second verse [Bibl. Ind., p. 788]: *Tām agnivarṇām̃ tapasā jvalantīm̃ vairo-chanīm̃ karma-phaleshu jushṭām* | *Durgām̃ devīm̃ śaraṇam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ* | ['I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites: adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous [goddess].'] The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Pariśishṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R.V. i. 99,[215] that Agni would help the suppliant over all 'durga' and 'durita' (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified Durgati (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all 'durga' and 'durita,' is a 'durgā,' a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, S'iva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of S'iva bore a terrific character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

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[214] "This verse is also found in the *Durgā-stava* of the *Rātripariśishṭa* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashṭaka of the R.V." (*i.e.* between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

[215] This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase sunavāma somam arātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ* | *sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇi viśvā nāveva sindhum̃ duritā 'ti Agniḥ* |

"The last name of S'iva's consort which I find in the Taitt. Ār. x. is Varadā, in anuvākas 26 and 30. It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: *Āyātu varadā devī aksharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatrīm̃* [*gāyatrī*, Bibl. Ind.] *chhandasām mātā idam brahma jushasva me* | . . . . *sarvavarn̲e mahādevi śandhyā-vidye Sarasvati* |[216] But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: *Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhani* | *brāhman̲ebhyo 'bhyanujnātā gachha devi yathāsukham* | *stuto* (=*stutā u*) *mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayantī pavane dvijātā*,[217] etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort of Siva. The other names, however, 'sarva-varṉā,' 'chhandasām mātā,' 'veda-mātā,' and finally 'Sarasvatī' itself, conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 26–30. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 189" (see p. 424, note 207, above).

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[216] [The sense of these words, according to the reading in the Bibl. Ind., is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, the mother of the Vedas, the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, receive with favour this my prayer . . . O thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī." The latter portion of this quotation is not found in the text in the Bibl. Ind.]

[217] [The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmans, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc. The latter part of this quotation does not occur in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.]

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract from the Indische Studien, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in a passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṉḍaka i. 2, 4), where they are appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravarṉā | Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānāḥ iti sapta jihvāḥ* | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one), Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṉā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṉā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānāḥ dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthāḥ etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ* | "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṉā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

On this passage Prof. Weber has the following remarks in his Indische Studien i. 286 f., which are thus of an earlier date than those above cited: "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Siva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālati-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shown in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds: "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like S'iva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while S'iva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Vishṉu Purāṉas in section vi. (pp. 378, 385), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daksha, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daksha's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṉa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṉa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.=Bombay ed. 35, 13 ff; Gorresio's ed. 37, 14 ff.).—*S'ailendro Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān* | *tasya kanyā-dvayam̃ jātam̃ rūpeṉāpratimam bhuvi* | *yā Meru-duhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyamā* | *nāmnā Menā manojnā vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā* | *tasyām̃ Gangeyam abhavaj jyeshṭhā Himavataḥ sutā* | *Umā nāma dvitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava* | . . . 19. *Yā chānyā S'aila-duhitā kanyā"sīd Raghu-nandana* | *ugram̃ sā vratam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā* | *ugreṉa tapasā yuktām̃ dadau S'aila-varaḥ sutām* | *Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umām̃ loka-namaskṛitām* | *Ity ete S'aila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūvatuḥ* | *Gangā cha saritām śreshṭhā devīnām̃ chāpy Umā varā* | "To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra.

These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses."

The Harivaṁsa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṉa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included:

Eteshām mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgireḥ | patnī Himavataḥ śreshṭhā . . . . 943. Tisraḥ kanyās tu Menāyām janayāmāsa S'aila-rāṭ | Aparṉām Ekaparṉām cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapaś charantyaḥ sumahad duścharam Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpayāmāsus tās tisraḥ sthāṉu-jangamān | āhāram eka-parṉena Ekaparṉā samācharat | pāṭalā-pushpam ekam cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyashedhayat | "u mā" iti nishedhantī mātṛi-snehena duḥkhitā | sā tathoktā tada mātrā devī duśchara-chāriṉī | Umety evābhavat khyātā trishu lokeshu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharmiṉī | etat tu trikumārīkam jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava | tapaḥ-śarīrās tāḥ sarvās tisro yoga-balānvitāḥ | sarvāś cha brahma-vādinyaḥ sarvāś chaivordhva-retasaḥ | Umā tāsām varishṭhā cha jyeshṭhā cha vara-varniṉī | mahāyoga-balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparṉā tu Devalasya mahātmanaḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhīmate | Jaigīshavyāya tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭalām |

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz. Aparṉā, Ekaparṉā, and Ekapāṭalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṉā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭalā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparnā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* ('O don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was

the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the Yoga. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigīshavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā which, as has been mentioned in p. 205, he uttered at the suggestion of Kṛishṇa:[218]

Mahābhārata, Bhīshma-parv. vv. 796 ff.—*Arjunaḥ uvacha* | *namas te Siddhasenāni ārye mandara-vāsini*| *Kumāri Kāli Kāpāli Kapile Kṛishṇa-pingale* | *Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli namo 'stu te* | *Chaṇḍi Chaṇḍe namas tubhyam Tāriṇi Varavarṇini*| *Kātyāyani mahābhāge Karāli Vijaye Jaye* | *śikhi-pichha-dhvaja-dhare nānābharaṇa-bhūshite* | *aṭṭa-śūla-praharaṇe khaḍga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇi* | *gopendrasyānuje jyeshṭhe Nanda-gopa-kulodbhave* | *Mahishāsṛik-priye nityam̃ Kauśiki pīta-vāsini* | *aṭṭa-hāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu raṇa-priye* | *Ume S'ākambhari S'vete Kṛishṇe Kaiṭabha-nāśini* | *Hiraṇyākshi Virūpākshi Dhūmrākshi cha namo 'stu te* | *Veda-śruti mahāpuṇye brahmaṇye Jātavedasi* | *Jambū-kaṭaka-chaityeshu nityam̃ sannihitālaye* | *tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha dehinām* | *Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāra-vāsini* | . . . . *Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā chaiva kalā kāshṭhā Sarasvatī* | *Sāvitrī Veda-mātā cha tathā Vedānta uchyate* (*uchyase?*) | *stutā 'si tvam Mahādevi viśuddhenāntarātmanā* | *Jayo bhavatu me nityam̃ tvat-prasādād raṇājire* | *kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālaneshu cha* | *nityam̃ vasasi pātāle yuddhe jayasi dānavān* | *tvam̃ Jambhanī Mohinī cha Māyā Hrīḥ S'rīs tathaiva cha* | *Sandhyā prabhāvatī chaiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā* | *Tushṭiḥ Pushṭir Dhṛitir Dīptiś chandrāditya-vivardhinī* | *bhūtir bhūtimatām̃ sankhye vīkshyase siddha-chāraṇaiḥ* |

"Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Kṛishṇa-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī; reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, O Tāriṇī (deliveress), O Varavarṇinī (beautiful-coloured), O fortunate Kātyāyanī, O Karālī, O Vijayā, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Kṛishṇa), eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Umā, Sikambharī, thou white one [or S'vetā], thou black one [or Kṛishṇā], O destroyer of Kaiṭabha. Reverence to thee, O Hiraṇyākshī, Virūpākshī, Dhūmrākshī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to (. . . . . ?) mountain-precipices and sepulchres. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, O mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,[219] Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou constantly abidest; and conquerest the Dānavas in battle. Thou art Jambhanī (destroyer?), Mohinī, Māyā, Hrī, S'rī, Sandhyā,[220] the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tushṭi (contentment), Pushṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be]."

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[218] The Bhagavadgītā, in which Kṛishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhīshma-parvan, vv. 830 ff.

In another part of the Mahābhārata, (fourth or) Virāṭa-parvan, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note) addressed by Yudhishṭhira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to "have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims" (*Vindhye chaiva naga-śreshṭhe tava sthānaṁ hi śāśvatam* | *Kāli Kāli Mahākāli sīdhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye*).

In the Harivaṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiśampāyana that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī's offspring, Vishṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of Time); and promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśikī, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vishṉu), she would kill the two demons S'umbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahīshyati sa Vāsavaḥ* | *Kuśikasya tu gotreṉa Kauśikī tvam bhavishyasi*[221] | *sa te Vindhye naga-sreshṭhe sthānam̃ dāsyati śāśvatam* | *ityādi*). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by rishis of old," beginning *Nārāyaṉīm̃ mamasyāmi devīm̃ tribhuvaneśvarīm* | "I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṉī, the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 432 f.), such as S'rī, Dhṛiti, Kīrti, Hrī, Sandhyā, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Pushṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (*jyeshṭhā Yamasya bhaginī*, v. 3271); and it is worthy of remark that she is said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] S'avaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (*S'avarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā*, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (*surā-mām̃sa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. pp. 424 f., 428 f.), and Smṛiti (memory) in Dvaipāyana, *i.e.* Vyāsa (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitir Dvaipāyane tathā*, v. 3285), and among sciences, the science of Brahma or the Veda (*vidyānām brahma-vidyā*, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (*tvayā vyāptam idam̃ sarvam̃ jagat sthāvara-jangamam*, v. 3293).

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[219] Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvatī, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.

[220] See above, p. 428.

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaishṉavas) under the protection and patronage of Vishṉu.

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[221] Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11. See the first volume of this work, p. 347 f., and the fifth volume, p. 219.

A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, is also to be found in Harivam̃sa vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛishṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa" (*anantam akshayam̃ divyam ādi-devam̃ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇam̃ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (*ṛishibhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpair architām̃ śubhām*, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (*Mahendra-Vishṇu-bhaginīm*, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Vishṇuś cha Rudraś cha Chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ* | . . . . *kṛitsnam̃ jagad idam proktam̃ devyāḥ nāmānukīrtanāt* | "Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Vishṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc. It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityaiva sā jagan-mūrtir tayā sarvam idam̃ tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpattir bahudhā śrūyatām mama | devānām̃ kārya-siddhy-artham āvirbhavati sā yadā | utpanneti tadā loke sā nityā 'py abhidhīyate* | "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out; and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Vishṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidrā*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Vishṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him, began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction" (*Hari-netra-kṛitālayām | viśveśvarīm̃ jagaddhātrīm̃ sthiti-sam̃hāra-kāri-*

ṉīm | nidrām bhagavatīm̃ Vishṉoḥ). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *Tvayaiva dhāryate sarvam̃ tvayaitat sṛijyate jagat | tvayaitat pālyate devi tvam atsy ante cha sarvadā* | "By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end." Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): *Yachcha kinchit kvachid vastu sad asad vā 'khilātmake | tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sā tvam̃ kim̃ stūyase tadā | yayā tvayā jagat-srashṭā jagat-pātā 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nidrā-vaśam̃ nītaḥ kas tvām stotum iheśvaraḥ | Vishṉuḥ śarīra-grahaṉam aham Īśāna eva cha | kāritās te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotum̃ śaktimān bhavet* | "Thou art the power (*śakti*) of whatever substance, existent or non-existent, anywhere is, O thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishṉu, and me (Brahmā), and Īśāna (S'iva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?"

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Mārk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*S'akrādayaḥ sura-gaṉāḥ nihate 'tivīrye tasmin durātmani surāribale cha devyā | tām̃ tushṭuvuḥ praṉati-namra-śirodharām̃sāḥ vāgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chāru-dehāḥ | devyā yayā tatam idam̃ jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥśesha-deva-gaṉa-śakti-samūha-mūrtyā | tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vidadhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananto Brahmā Haraś cha na hi vaktum alam balancha | sā Chaṉḍikā 'khila-jagat-paripālanāya nāśāya chāśubha-bhayasya matim̃ karotu* | "When the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words: 'We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated the various energies (*śakti*) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chaṉḍikā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishṉu), nor Brahmā, nor Hara (S'iva) is competent to express, determine upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to show the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc. (pp. 364, 373 ff., 430 f.), will show that she has now attained a higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daksha and Himavat.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—*Page* 33, *line* 19.

In the Uttarakāṉḍa, too, of the Rāmāyaṉa (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatiḥ purā sṛishṭvā apaḥ salila-sambhavaḥ* | *tāsām gopāyane sattvān asṛijat padma-sambhavaḥ* | "The lotus-born Prajāpati, sprung from the waters (or the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who, from agreeing to undertake this function, were called Rākshasas (from the root *raksh*, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: "*Apaḥ sṛishṭvā*" *bhūmer adho-bhāga-vartinīr apaḥ sṛishṭvā ity arthaḥ* | *tatra* "*salila-sambhavaḥ*" *Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ* | . . . . "'Having created the waters:' the sense is having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the water-born Prajāpati arose: such is the connexion." . . . . He then quotes Manu i. 8 (see p. 30, above), and two other texts from the Veda. See above, p. 24, note.

NOTE B.—*Page* 65, *line* 25.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvaṉa, which is given in the Kishkindhā Kāṉḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṉa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Vishṉu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Aurṉabhāva's interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54*a* ff. (Bombay ed.)[1]—*Tataḥ param hemamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ* | *tasya koṭir divam spṛishṭvā śata-yojanam āyatā* | *jāta-*

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[1] Gorresio, iv. 40, 59 ff., has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

rūpamayī divyā virājati sa-vedikā | . . . . 57. *Tatra yojana-vistāram uchhritam̃ daśa-yojanam* | *śṛingam̃ Saumanasam nāma jātarūpamayam̃ dhruvam* | 58. *Tatra pūrva-padam̃ kṛitvā purā Vishṉus trivikrame* (*trivikramaḥ*, Gorr.) | *dvitīyam̃ śikhare Meroś chakāra purushottamaḥ* | 59. *Uttareṉa parikramya Jambūdvīpam̃ divākaraḥ* | *dṛiśyo bhavati bhūyishṭham̃ śikharam̃ tad mahochhrayam* (*dṛiśyo bhavati bhūtānām̃ śikharam̃ tam upāśritaḥ*, Gorr.) | 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . . 57. There stands the firm, golden Saumanasa peak, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Vishṉu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambūdvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;" (or, 'he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak,' Gorr.).

The commentator remarks on vv. 57 and 58: *Tatra śata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare* | 58. *Tatra Saumanase śṛinge trivikrame tribhiḥ padais trilokyāḥ ākramaṉa-prastāve prathamam padam̃ tatra kṛitvā dvitīyam padam Meroḥ śikhare chakāra* | On v. 59: *Astānantaram uttareṉa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tan mahochhrayam̃ śikharam Saumanasākhyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-vartinām bhūyishṭham̃ dṛishṭo bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthaḥ* | *idam satya-yugābhiprāyam̃ tretāyām̃ kshīra-sāgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lankā-madhya-gasya Jambudvīpa-stha-manushya-dṛiśyatāyāḥ anyatroktatvāt* | "'There,' on this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas long. 58. 'There,' on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishṉu] placed his first step, and his second on the summit of Meru." On v. 59 he observes: "After sunset, when the sun has circled round Jambūdvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambūdvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Vishṉu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: *Prāsādaiścha vimānaiś cha Lankā parama-bhūshitā | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavam padam |* "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishṇu by *ākāśa.* This passage appears to refer to the zenith.

NOTE C.—*Page* 134, *line* 34.

It will be observed that in the text of the Bombay edition the two parts of the story, viz. (1) the request of the gods to Vishṇu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kaśyapa to the same deity that he would become the son of himself and Aditi, are more closely connected than they are in Schlegel's edition by the insertion of the words, "Bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit," which are wanting in Schlegel's text. Further, in the Bombay edition Kaśyapa is made to allude to "the hermitage where the work was accomplished," as if he was himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel's edition. And again, as already noticed in note 129, p. 130, by the omission of the words "thus addressed by the deities," which occur at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's text, the Bombay edition harmonizes the two parts of the story, and removes the appearance of interpolation which Schlegel's text exhibits.

NOTE D.—*Page* 175, *line* 33.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3[2] of the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rāma; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: *Rāvaṇasya badhopāye mantraṇaṁ samudāhṛitam* | 15. *Svargāvataraṇaṁ chaiva surāṇāṁ samudāhṛitam* | *divyā cha pāyasotpattiḥ putra-janma nṛipasya cha*). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rāma is described as "glorious like Prajāpati" (*Prajāpati-samaḥ śrīmān*, v. 13), and as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon" (*Vishṇunā sadṛiśo vīrye soma-vat priyadarśanaḥ*, v. 18). The first of the epithets in the last line would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus on the expression in v. 18: *Yadyapi Rāmo Vishṇur eva sarva-rūpaś cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhedāt sarvatra sādṛiśyaṁ drashṭavyam* | *yadvā Vishṇunā sadṛiśaḥ ity ananvayālankāraḥ* | "Although Rāma was no other than Vishṇu, still, from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*ananvayālankāra*)." See Professor Goldstücker's Dictionary under this word. In regard to the other epithet, "glorious like Prajāpati," v. 13, the commentator similarly observes: *Yadyapi Rāmo Brahma eva tathāpi mānusha-dharmāṇāṁ śoka-mohadīnām māyikānāṁ tatra darśanena aupādhika-bhedam ādāya tat-samatvoktiḥ* | *Bhārgava-loka-pratibandha-rūpāj*

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[2] It is worthy of remark, that in the third section the poet is said to have "seen" all that he narrates in the poem; just as the Vedic rishis are said to have "seen" their hymns (see Nirukta ii. 11: *Ṛishir darśanāt | stomān dadarśa ity Aupamanyavaḥ |* "'Ṛishi comes from seeing: he is one who saw the hymns,' so says Aupamanyava." See the second volume of this work, pp. 195 and 196; also the third vol., p. 85). Rāmāyaṇa i. 3, 3: *Rāma-Lakshmaṇa-Sītābhiḥ rājñā Daśarathena cha |*

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sabhāryeṇa sarāshṭreṇa yat prāptaṁ tatra tattvataḥ | 4. *Hasitam bhāshitaṁ chaiva gatir yāvach cha cheshṭitam* | *tat sarvaṁ dharma-vīryeṇa yathāvat samprapaśyati* | 5. *Strī-tṛitīyena cha tathā yat prāptaṁ charatā vane* | *satyasandhena Rāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chānvavaikshata* | 6. *Tataḥ paśyati dharmātmā tat sarvaṁ yogam āsthitaḥ* | *purā yat tatra nirvṛittam pāṇāv āmalakaṁ yathā* | 7. *Tat sarvaṁ tattvato dṛishṭvā ityādi* | 3. "Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā, to king Daśaratha with his wives and dominions, (4) their laughing, their talking, their fates and their endeavours—all that he sees exactly by the power of righteousness. 5. He also beheld all that happened to the truthful Rāma while travelling in the forest with his wife as the third. 6. Then the righteous (bard), falling into a state of contemplation (*yoga*), sees all that had formerly happened, like an "*āmalaka*" fruit in his hand. 7. Seeing all this exactly," etc.

Jaṭāyu-moksha-pradāna-rupāt svena saha sarvāyodhyā-vāsi-janasya sa-śarīrasya Brahma-loka-nayana-rūpāch cha kāraṇāt tat-samatvam | sarvathā svatantrasya eva īdṛiśeshu yogyatvāt | "Although Rāma was no other than Brahma, still, owing to the circumstance that grief, delusion, and other illusory human attributes, were seen in him,—in reference to this apparent distinctness,—a resemblance is predicated. From the fact that he deprived Bhārgava (Paraśurāma, see above, p. 177) of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jaṭāyu (Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., iii. 68, 37), and that he took with him to Brahmā's paradise the whole of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā in an embodied state, there is a similarity (between Rāma and Prajāpati); since only a being who was in all respects independent of others could be capable of such acts." As instances of Rāma's "illusory human attributes," I may mention his ignorance of Sītā's locality when she had been carried off by Rāvaṇa (Ār. Kāṇḍa 58, 1 ff., Bombay ed. = Gorr. sect. 65), and the consequent search instituted for her discovery (Kishkindhā K. 40, 11 ff., Bombay ed. = Gorr. ed. 40, 9 ff.), and his doubt regarding her purity after she had been rescued from the Rākshasa's palace (Bāla Kāṇḍa 1, 81 ff., Bombay ed.). There are some phrases in the summary of the poem, in the first chapter of the first book, which are of a hyperbolical character, and do not necessarily point to a divine character in Rāma. Thus, in verse 4 the hero about whom inquiry is made is described as one of whom the gods are afraid (*kasya bibhyati devāś cha*). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (*pūjitaḥ sarva-devataiḥ*); while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon from the gods (*devatābhyo varam prāpya*). In verse 32 Rāma and his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and gandharvas (*deva-gandharva-sankāśāḥ*). In section 2, verse 32, the epithets *dharmātmano bhagavataḥ*, and *dhīmataḥ*, "righteous," "divine or venerable" (an epithet constantly applied to Kṛishṇa, as well as to Buddha), and "wise," are assigned to Rāma. "Bhagavat" need not necessarily mean "divine."

In the text, pp. 170 ff. (see also pp. 165 ff.), following Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel's edition has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. It will also be seen from note 164 in p. 165, as compared with the quotation given in the text in the same and the following pages, that the Bombay edition, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel's, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth), as given in the latter, and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Vishṉu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Bombay edition the words *pitaram̃ rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nṛipam* ("he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha"), which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 174 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha's sons according to Schlegel's edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Bombay edition and in Gorresio's:

[Bombay ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

8. *Tato yajne samāpte tu ṛitūnam̃ shaṭ samatyayuḥ* | *tataś cha dvādaśe māse chaitre nāvamike tithau* | 9. *Nakshatre 'diti-daivatye svochcha-sam̃stheshu panchasu* | *graheshu karkaṭe lagne Vākpatāv Indunā saha* | 10. *Prodyamāne jagannātham̃ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam* | *Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmam̃ divya-lakshaṉa-sam̃yutam* | 11. *Vishṉor ardham mahābhāgam putram Aikshvāku-nandanam* | *lohitāksham mahābāhum̃ raktoshṭham dundubhi-svanam* | 12. *Kauśalyā śusubhe tena putreṉāmita-tejasā* | *yathā vareṉa devānām Aditir Vajrapāṉinā* | 13. *Bharato nāma Kaikeyyām jajne satya-parākramaḥ* | *sākshād Vishṉoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṉaiḥ* | 14. *Atha Lakshmaṉa-S'atrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau* | *vīrau sarvā-*

[Gorr. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

10. *Tāsām prajajnire putrāś chatvāro 'mita-tejasaḥ* | *Rāma-Lakshmaṉa-S'atrughna-Bharatāḥ deva-rūpiṉaḥ* | 11. *Janma-tejo-guṉa-jyeshṭham putram apratimaujasam* | *Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmam̃ Vishṉu-tulya-parākramam* | 12. (almost the same as v. 12 of the Bomb. ed.) 13. *Bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṉasya badhāya cha* | *Vishṉor vīryārdhato jajne Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | 14. *Tejo-vīryādhikaḥ śūraḥ śrīmān guṉa-gaṉākaraḥ* | *babhūvānavaraś chaiva S'akrād Vishṉoś cha paurushe* | 15. *Tathā Lakshmaṉa-S'atrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau* | *dṛidḥa-bhaktī mahotsāhau Rāmasyāvarajau guṉaiḥ* | 16. *Tāv apy āstām chatur-bhāgau Vishṉoḥ sampiṉḍitāv ubhau* | *ekaḥ eka-chatur-bhāgād aparasmād ajāyata* | 17.

stra-kuśalau Vishṇor ardha-samanvitau | 15. *Pushye jātas tu Bharato mīnalagne prasanna-dhīḥ* | *Sārpe jatau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyudite ravau* | 16. *Rājnaḥ putrāḥ mahātmānaś chatvāro jajnire pṛithak* | *guṇavanto 'nurūpāścha ruchyā proshṭhapadopamāḥ* |

[Bombay edition.]

8. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, (9) in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—(10) Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies, the half of Vishṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ikshvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the

Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putraḥ satya-parākramaḥ | *dharmātmā cha mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikramaḥ* | . . . 19. *Sa chaturbhir mahābhāgaiḥ putrair Daśaratho vṛitaḥ* | *babhūva parama-prīto devair iva Pitāmahaḥ* | 20. *Teshām ketur iva śreshṭho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ* | *Svayambhūr iva devānāṁ sarveshāṁ sama-darśanaḥ* |

[Gorresio's edition.]

After naming Daśaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds:

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Śatrughna, and Bharata, in fashion like the gods. 11. Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishṇu. 12. (=v. 12. of the Bomb. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Vishṇu's generative power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa.[3] 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu. 15. So too Sumitrā bore two sons, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. 16. These two also, combined, were two

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[3] This verse, though not in the Bombay edition, is to be found in Schlegel's as the fifth.

fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Lakshmaṇa and S'atrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.[4] 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Sārpa (or the ninth lunar mansion), when the sun had risen in Cancer. 16. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā."

fourth parts [*i.e.* were, together, the fourth part] of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born (17) to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power, and energy. . . . . 19. Daśaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Piṭāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all."

The Bombay edition has not the verse which is found as the fifth in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its eleventh verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 175 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz. that the verses which refer to Daśaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakshmaṇa, and S'atrughna, given in vv. 13–15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Lakshmaṇa and S'atrughna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Daśaratha's sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.[5] The twelfth verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra,[6] and also the fourteenth verse (Gorr.), in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishṉu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], sound somewhat strangely as part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was originally contemplated, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishṉu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth volume, as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the avātara of Vishṉu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishṉu, and consequently Vishṉu himself in a human form, the epithet 'not inferior to Vishṉu,' which is here assigned to him, has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

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[4] Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

Again, it is related in the Āraṉya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rākshasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tato devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṉaiḥ | ūchuḥ parama-santrastāḥ guhyakāś cha parasparam | chatur-daśa sahasrāṉi rakshasām bhīma-karmaṉām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā katham̃ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no vidito yo 'yam̃ yathā cha vasudhām̃ gataḥ | manushyatvam̃ tu matvā 'sya kāruṉyād vyathitam manaḥ | nardantīva chamūs teshām̃ rakshasām̃ kāma-rūpiṉām | nānā-vikṛita-veśānām̃ Ramāśramam upāgamat |* "Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṉas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rākshasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, as if shouting.' "

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[5] Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (Preface, vol. i., p. lii.).

[6] In the Araṉya Kāṉḍa 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakshmaṉa are compared to the chiefs of the gods, Vishṉu and Vāsava (Indra, *surendrāv iva Vishṉu-vāsavau*) The commentator makes no remark on this.

In the Bombay ed. iii. 24, 19 ff., however, most of the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: *Tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṉaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kānkshayā* | 20. *Ṛishayaś mahātmāno loke brahmarshi-sattamāḥ | sametya chochuḥ sahitās te 'nyonyam puṉya-karmaṉaḥ*[7] | 21. *Svasti go-brāhmaṉānāncha lokānām cheti saṁsthitāḥ*[8] | *jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rajanīcharān* | 22. *Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam uktvā punaḥ prochur ālokya cha parasparam* | 23. *Chaturdaśa sahasrāṉi rakshasām bhīma-karmaṉām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhavishyati* | 24. *Iti rājarshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṉāś cha dvijarshabhāḥ | jāta-kautūhalās tasthur vimāna-sthāś cha devatāḥ* | 25. *Āvishṭaṁ tejasā Rāmaṁ sangrāma-śirasi sthitam | dṛishṭvā sarvāṉi bhūtāni bhayād vivyathire tadā* | 26. *Rūpam apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyāklishṭa-karmaṉaḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanaḥ* | . . . . . . 35. *Tasya rushṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadṛiśe tadā | Dakshasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatasya Pinākinaḥ*[9] | 19. "Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṉas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis, assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. 'Blessings be upon cows and Brahmans, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rākshasas, the descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṉu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:

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[7] *Adīrghatvam ārsham* | Comm.

[8] The following is the commentator's note on the last four words of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand: " *Lokānām ye 'bhisangatāḥ" iti pāṭhe lokānāṁ lokapālānāṁ sangatāḥ havir-homādi-dvārā upakārakāḥ ity arthaḥ.* " According to another reading, *lokānāṁ ye 'bhisangatāḥ*, the sense is, 'and upon those guardians of the world who have arrived, who aid us by means of oblations, sacrifices,' etc."

[9] This verse, as given in Gorresio's edition, will be found above, p. 373, note.

how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like that of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha."

From a comparison of these passages, as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Bombay edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishṇu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rākshasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Bombay ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Lakshmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa.

In the following citations I shall use the Bombay edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: *Rāma-Lakshmaṇayor eva sarva-deha-bhidaḥ śarān | bhṛiśam āveśayāmāsa Rāvaṇiḥ samitinjayaḥ | nirantara-śarīrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau*[10] | *kruddhenendrajitā vīrau pannagaiḥ śaratāṁ gataiḥ | tayoḥ kshata-ja-mārgeṇa susrāva rudhiram bahu* | . . . 16. *Baddhau tu śara-bandhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur avekshitum* | . . . 22. *Papāta prathamaṁ Rāmo viddho marmasu mārgaṇaiḥ | krodhād Indrajitā yena purā S'akro 'pi nirjitaḥ* | "The son of

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[10] Instead of *tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau*, Gorresio's edition (vi. 20, 8) reads *kṛitau tau sāyakais tadā.*

Rāvaṇa, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents[11] which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . . 16. Bound by the chain of these arrows in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment.[12] . . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered."[13] Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . . *Anvaśochanta Rāghavau| acheshṭau manda-niśvāsau śoṇitena pariplutau| śara-jālāchitau*[14] *stabdhau śayānau śara-talpa-gau | niśvasantau yathā sarpau niścheshṭau dīna-vikramau | ityādi* | "They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu, incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, encompassed with a net of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled," etc. Vibhīshaṇa comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): *Athavā rakshyatām Rāmo yāvat sanjnā-viparyayaḥ | labdha-sanjnau hi Kākutsthau bhayam nau vyapaneshyataḥ | naitat kinchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo mumūrshati | na hy enam hāsyate Lakshmīr durlabhā yā gatāyushām* | "Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kakutstha have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Lakshmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him."

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[11] The edition of Gorresio (see preceding note) supplies the word "arrows." Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. nirântara*, translate the clause thus: "There was no spot on their bodies in which an arrow was not sticking."

[12] On this the commentator, in conformity with his dogmatic views regarding the divine nature of the two heroes, remarks: *Na śekatur avekshitum* | *tādṛiśāv iva sthitau manushyatva-naṭanāya iti bodhyam* | "'Could not look up:' remained, as it were, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (*i.e.* simulate) humanity (*i.e.* that they were mere men)."

[13] Indrajit's victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, section 27. He was originally called Meghanāda, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of *Indra-jit*, or the "conqueror of Indra," *ibid.* section 30. A summary of the story will be found further on.

[14] Gorresio's ed. reads *śara-jālāvṛitau.*

It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakshmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

In the next section (the forty-seventh) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa it is related that Rāvaṇa sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Rākshasī Trijaṭā (v. 14), to the spot where Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, "powerful as the sons of the gods" (*deva-suta-prabhāvau*, v. 23), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in the course of which she says: 16. "Did not the two sons of Raghu possess the supernatural weapons of Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, and Vāyu, and the Brahmaśiras?[15] 17. My two lords (though I am now lordless), Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, the equals of Indra, have been slain in battle by an unseen foe, by enchantment. 18. For no foe, though swift as thought, could return living, after he had once been beheld by Rāma in the fight. 19. Nothing can counterbalance the power of Time, and Fate is invincible" (vv. 16 ff.: *Nanu Vāruṇam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astram Brahma-śiraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | 17. Adṛiśyamānena raṉe māyayā Vāsavopamau | mama nāthāv anāthāyāḥ nihatau Rāma-Lakshmaṉau | 18. Na hi dṛishṭi-patham prāpya Rāghavasya rane ripuḥ | jīvan pratinivarteta yadyapi syād manojavaḥ | 19. Na Kālasyātibhāro 'sti kṛitāntaś cha sudurjayaḥ*). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākshasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and. explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: *Nemau śakyau raṉe jetuṁ sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | tādṛiśaṁ darśanam dṛishṭvā mayā chodīritaṁ tava | idaṁ tu sumahach chitraṁ śaraiḥ paśyasva Maithili | visanjnau patitāv etau naiva Lakshmīr vimunchati | prāyeṉa gata-sattvānām purushāṉāṁ gatāyushām | dṛiśyamāneshu vaktreshu param bhavati vaikṛitam* | "These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder, that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Lakshmī) does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives, and whose breath has departed." While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): *Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata vīryavān | sthiratvāt satva-yogāchcha*[16] *śaraiḥ sandānito 'pi san |* "In the mean time the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame, though he had been bound by the arrows." He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Lakshmaṉa, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: *Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

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[15] The commentator says on this verse: *Pratyapadyata pratyapadyetām | eka-vachanam ārsham | "nanv" itaḥ pūrvaṁ tat kim idānīṁ na smṛitam iti śeshaḥ.*

In sect. 50, Vibhīshaṉa laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lankā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rājjyam prāpsyasi dharma-jna Lankāyām̃ neha sam̃śayaḥ | Rāvaṉaḥ saha putreṉa sva-kāmam̃ neha lapsyate |* 22. *Garuḍādhishṭhihitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Lakshmaṉau | tyaktvā moham badhishyete sa-gaṉam̃ Rāvaṉam̃ raṉe |* "Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lankā; but Rāvaṉa and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Lakshmaṉa are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvaṉa with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Sushеṉa, to remove Rāma and Lakshmaṉa from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvaṉa, his sons and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost S'rī (24 f.: *Saha śūrair hariganair labdha-sanjnāv arindamau | gachha tvam bhrātarau gṛihya Kishkindhām̃ Rāma-Lakshmaṉau | aham̃ tu Rāvaṉam̃ hatvā sa-putram̃ saha-bāndhavam | Maithilīm ānayishyāmi S'akro nashṭām iva S'riyam*).[17]

Sushеṉa, however, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Bṛihaspati by his knowledge and the use of herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring those herbs. The Bombay edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate that a tempest arose, attended with lightnings, and announces the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. In Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Bombay edition:

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[16] *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt* | Comm.

[17] In Gorresio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27–41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Bombay ed.

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11*a*.—*Athainam upasangamya Vāyuḥ karṉe vacho 'bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hṛidā | Nārāyaṉas tvam bhagavān Rākshasārthe 'vatāritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujaṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorāt tu yuvāṁ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā Rāghavo Raghunandanaḥ | sasmāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujagānām bhayāvaham |* "Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārāyaṉa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākshasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents."

The absence of these verses from the Bombay edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṉa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, *i.e.* summoned him. It is true Rāma had been senseless; but he had regained his consciousness so far as to call upon Garuḍa: so that in Gorresio's text it must be implied,—unless we are to suppose it to be inconsistent with itself—that he again became unconscious. The verses in which this is shown are as follows (Bombay ed. 50, 37 ff. =Gorr. ed. 26, 16 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhiprekshya nāgās te vipradudruvuḥ | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaiḥ | tataḥ Suparṉaḥ Kākutsthau spṛishṭvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimamarśa cha pāṉibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṁspṛishṭās tayoḥ samruruhur*[18] *vraṉāḥ | suvarṉe cha tanū snigdhe tayor āśu babhūvatuḥ |*

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[18] *Yathā-pūrvaṁ saṁrūḍha-māṁsāḥ abhūvan |* Comm.

40. *Tejo vīryam balaṁ chaujaḥ utsāhaścha mahāguṇaḥ* | *pradarśanancha buddhiścha smṛitiś cha dviguṇā*[19] *tayoḥ* | *tāv utthāpya mahātejāḥ Garuḍo Vāsavopamau* | *ubhau cha sasvajo hṛishṭo Rāmaś chainam uvācha ha* | *bhavat-prasādād vyasanaṁ Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat* | *upāyena vyatikrāntau śīghraṁ cha balinau kṛitau* | *yathā tātaṁ Daśarathaṁ yathā 'jancha pitāmaham* | *tathā bhavantam āsādya hṛidayam me prasīdati* | 44. *Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ* (The last line is identical with that in Gorresio's edition) | "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound, took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra; and Rāma, delighted, thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted by the son of Rāvaṇa, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou,[20] distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?'" etc.

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[19] In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed., explains this as follows: *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparśāt pūrvato 'py adhikā* | *atra anyair devair avatīrya bhagavato Rāmasya mūla-mūrter ājnayā upakāraḥ sampādito Garuḍena tu sva-rūpataḥ eva iti bodhyam* | . . . . "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered by the command of the divine Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but by Garuḍa in his own form."

[20] In his remarks on this verse, the same commentator says: "*Ko bhavān*" *ity ayam praśno 'pi manushya-śarīrochita-vyavahāraḥ eva tat-satyatva-pratyāpanārthaḥ* | *atra Rāma-samīpāgamana-paryantam pakshy-ākāreṇaiva āgatya sannidhi-mātreṇa nāga-bandhanancha nirasya Rāghava-sparśanādy-artham purushākāreṇa vyavahṛitavān iti bodhyam* | "This question 'who art thou?' also harmonizes with [Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] appearance in the form of a bird, his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, and his touching Rāma, and ending with his near approach to the latter," etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is distinctly represented as inquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question, Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the bonds of the serpents, which had been turned into arrows by the magic art of Indrajit. He warns him that in dealing with the treacherous Rākshasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvaṇa and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: *Pradakshiṇam tataḥ kritvā parishvajya cha*).[21]

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi., sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ | ekena yena vai pūrvam bahavo rākshasāḥ hatāḥ* | "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rākshasas have formerly been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur is not, however, to be found in the corresponding section (the fifty-ninth) of the Bombay edition, which omits verses 6–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Bombay ed.) it is related that Lakshmaṇa was wounded by Rāvaṇa with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvaṇa tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyam vā sahāmaraiḥ | śakyam bhujābhyām uddhartum na śakyo Bharatānujaḥ | śaktyā brāhmyā tu Saumitris tāḍito 'pi stanāntare | Vishṇor amīmāṁsya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmarat* | "Himavat, Mandara,

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[21] From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradakshiṇam kritvā iti anena divya-devatāvatāro Rāmaḥ iti sarvān prākrita-kapīn praty api bodhitam* | "By these words, 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated even to all the ordinary monkeys that Rāma was an incarnation of a celestial deity."

Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata. But Lakshmaṇa, though smitten on the chest with the lance given by Brahmā, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishṇu."[22] Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishṇor bhāgam amīmāṁsyam ātmānam pratyanusmaran.* Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88 are *Vishṇor achintyo yo bhāgo mānushaṁ deham āsthitaḥ* | "The inconceivable portion of Vishṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions. In vv. 122 f. of the same section

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[22] The commentator's note on v. 110 is as follows: *Amoghayā Brahma-dattayā stanāntare āhataḥ Saumitrir Vishṇor amīmāṁsyaṁ niśśaṁśaya-Vishṇu-bhāgatvavantam iyattayā chintayitum aśakyaṁ vā Vishṇor bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmarat anvasmarat* | *na hi svīyaṁ svaṁ hinasty ity āśayena Brahma-śakti-mūlāya* (?) *trāṇārtham bhagavat-tejo'ṁśaḥ eva aham asmi iti dhyātavān* | *naṭa-vad angīkṛita-manushyatvasya itareshāṁ dṛiḍha-pratīty-artha-paraṁ na sarvadā tathā dhyānam* | *evaṁ cha Brahma-bhāvanayā Lakshmaṇena sva-śarīrasya garīyastvam āpāditam ity uktam bhavati* | "Being struck on the breast with the unfailing (dart) given by Brahmā, Lakshmaṇa recollected himself to be indubitably a portion of Vishṇu, or to be a portion of Vishṇu which could not be conceived of as being of such and such magnitude. With reference to the principle that nothing destroys that which belongs to itself, he reflected, with a view to his preservation from the lance of Brahmā (?), that he was a part of the divine energy. As he had, like an actor, assumed the human form, this reflection of his had the object of confirming the belief of others, and it is not (to be imagined) that he always so reflected. And so too by conceiving himself as Brahma, he made his body very ponderous." It is afterwards said in verse 117 that Hanumat took Lakshmaṇa in his arms and carried him to his brother, and that, though he could not be moved by his enemies, he made himself light to Hanumat in consequence of the latter's friendship and devotion. On this the commentator remarks: *Idaṁ cha bhakta-mātra-sugrahatvam bhagavato bhagavad-avatārāṇāṁ cha svabhāva-siddham eva iti bodhyam* | *evaṁ cha Rāma-Lakshmaṇayor ajnāna-śaktimatva-tātparyatayā bhāsamānāni vachanāni mānusha-vesha-nirvahaṇa-mātra-parāṇi iti bodhyam* | *tad uktam Bhāgavate* | "*Martyāvatāras tv iha martya-śikshaṇaṁ raksho-badhāyaiva na kevalaṁ vibhoḥ* | *kuto 'nyathā syuḥ ramataḥ sve ātmanaḥ Sītā-kṛitāni vyasanānīśvarasya*" | "This capability of being taken up by a devoted person alone is to be understood as resulting from the nature of the Deity and of His incarnations. And so it is to be understood that the expressions which seem to ascribe the capability of ignorance to Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying out their characters in their human disguise. This is declared in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (the verse occurs in v. 19, 5, as I learn from Böhtlingk and Roth's reference, *s.v. śikshaṇa*), 'The Lord's incarnation as a man on this earth was meant for the instruction of men, and had not merely in view the slaughter of the Rākshasa. Otherwise, how could the Lord, the Spirit, whose delight is in himself, have undergone the sufferings arising from Sītā?'"

(fifty-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hanumat tells Rāma to mount on his back, as Vishṇu on that of Garutmat or Garuḍa (*Vishṇur yathā Garutmantam āruhya*); and in verse 125, Rāma is said to have rushed on Rāvaṇa as Vishṇu ruṣhed on Vairochana (*Vairochanaṁ iva kruddho Vishṇur ityādi*).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, but spared, and sent back to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat samāno Mahendreṇa mānusheṇa vinirjitaḥ* | 6. *Idam tad Brahmaṇo ghoraṁ vākyam mām abhyupasthitam* | "*mānushebhyo vijānīhi bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā* | 7. *Deva-dānava-gandharvair yaksha-rākshasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushebhyo na yāchitam*" | 8. *Tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | Ikshvāku-kula-jātena Anaraṇyena*[23] *yat purā* | 9. "*Utpatsyati hi mad-vaṁśe purusho rākshasādhama | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāśva-sārathim* | 10. *Nihanishyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulādhama durmate*" | *śapto 'ham Vedavatyā cha yathā sā dharshitā purā* | 11. *Seyaṁ Sītā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandinī | Umā Nandīśvaraś chāpi Rambhā Varuṇa-kanyakā* | 12. *Yathoktās*[24] *tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā ṛishi-bhāshitam | etad eva samāgamya yatnaṁ kartum ihārhatha* | "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since

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[23] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaraṇya, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*tato 'naraṇyas | taṁ Rāvaṇo dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the second volume of this work, p. 421, note 129, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaraṇya is, however, told in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, section 19. Dushkanta (sic), Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [*bhinna-bhinna-kāla-vartino 'pi Dushkantādayaḥ sva-sva-kāle Rāvaṇam prati jitatva-vādaṁ vara-dānād uktavantaḥ*], yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahmā had given to him (v. 5). Anaraṇya, a descendant of Ikshvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: *Utpatsyate kule hy asminn Ikshvākūṇām mahātmanām | Rāmo Dāśarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harishyati*).

[24] *Yathoktavantaḥ . . . . yad ūchus tan mayā iti pāṭhāntaram* | Comm.

I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: 'Know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anaraṇya of the race of Ikshvāku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākshasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavatī when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sītā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandīśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa[25] (Punjikasthalā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis[26] is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions."

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākshasas.

[Most of the stories referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaraṇya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows: Rāvaṇa, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the Vocal daughter (*vāṅmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, sought to woo her, but her father would give her to no one else than to Vishṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: *Pitus tu mama jāmātā Vishṇuḥ kila sureśvaraḥ | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nānyasya me pitā | dātum ichhati tasmai tu*). This resolution provoked S'ambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16): *Tato manorathaṁ satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomīti tam evāhaṁ hṛidayena samudvahe | iti pratijnām āruhya charāmi vipulaṁ tapaḥ* | . . . . 18. *Nārāyaṇo mama patir na tv anyaḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoraṁ Nārāyaṇa-parīpsayā* | "In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.[27] Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance." Rāvaṇa's passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful will become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): *Yasmāt tu dharshitā chāhaṁ tvayā pāpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi samutpatsyaty aham (samutpatsyati samutpatsye ity arthaḥ* | Comm.) *punaḥ | nahi śakyaḥ striyā hantum purushaḥ pāpa-niśchayaḥ | śāpe tvayi mayotsṛishṭe tapasaś cha vyayo bhavet | yadi tv asti mayā kinchit kṛitaṁ dattaṁ hutaṁ tathā | tasmāt tv ayonijā sādhvī bhaveyaṁ dharmiṇaḥ sutā | evam uktvā praviṣhṭā sā jvalitaṁ jātavedasam | papāta cha divo divyā pushpa-vṛishṭiḥ samantataḥ | saishā Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanayā prabho | tava bhāryā mahābāho Vishṇus tvaṁ hi sanātanaḥ | pūrvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayā 'sau nihatas tayā | upāśrayitvā śailābhas tava vīryam amānusham* | "'Since I have been insulted in the forest by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born again for thy destruction. For a man of evil designs cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.' Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavatī in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of king Janaka, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Vishṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, after she had associated herself with thy superhuman energy." On this the commentator remarks: *Anena Sītā eva Rāvaṇa-badhe mukhyam̃ kāraṇam Rāme tu hantṛitvam āropitam iti sūchitam* | "By this it is signified that Sītā was the principal cause of Rāvaṇa's death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma." On the words "thou art Vishṇu," in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: *Anena Sītāyāḥ Lakshmītvam̃ sphuṭam evoktam* | *tad uktam Parāśareṇa "Rāghavatve 'bhavat Sītā Rukmiṇī Kṛishṇa-janmani" iti* | "By this it is clearly affirmed that Sītā was Lakshmī. Parāśara says: 'In the god's life as Rāma, she became Sītā, and in his birth as Kṛishṇa [she became] Rukmiṇī.'"

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[25] The stories connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

[26] The commentator remarks here: *Ṛishi-padena tapo-yuktāḥ uchyante* | "The word "ṛishi" denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavatī and others.

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[27] This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umā, but the commentator[28] connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Śaravaṇa, the birthplace of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain, he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then beholds a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily demands who S'ankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandīśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandīśvara, who was another body (*aparā tanuḥ*) of S'iva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa's race (v. 17:, *Tasmād mad-vīrya-saṁyuktāḥ mad-rūpa-sama-tejasaḥ | utpatsyanti badhārthaṁ hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ*). Nandīśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power S'iva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: *Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā ślishṭā Maheśvaram*). S'iva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa's counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa's arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (*rāva*) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

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[28] His words are: *Tatra Umā-śāpaḥ* | *Kailāśa-śikhara-chālana-velāyām̃ Rāvaṇasya strī-nimittam maraṇam ity evam̃-rūpam ity āhuḥ* | "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman."

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the twenty-sixth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chakshur-ādīndriya-gaṇaṁ sarvam* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhadre pradharshitā* | 55. *Tasmāt sa* *yuvatīm anyām̐ nākāmām upayāsyati | yadā hy akāmām̐ kāmārto dharshayishyati yoshitam | mūrdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalībhavitā tadā |* "Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṉa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṉḍa any story about the daughter of Varuṉa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: *Varuṉa-kanyakā Punjikasthalā tan-nimittam brahma-śāpaḥ strī-dharshaṉe maraṉa-rūpaḥ* | "The daughter of Varuṉa was Punjikasthalā. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."]

After expressing himself as above (p. 458), Rāvaṉa desires his brother Kumbhakarṉa (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,[28] slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarṉa asks (book vi., sect. 60, Bombay ed., vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods, but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *Mānushān no bhayam̐ rājan tumulam̐ samprabādhate | ityādi*); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakshmaṉa. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvaṉa; who, in answer to his inquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṉa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, Bombay ed., vv. 2–21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvaṉa's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents;[29] and is told by Rāvaṉa in answer (vv. 23–27) that this is not the time for such laboured lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarṉa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarṉa, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvaṇa which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Bombay edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v., p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some mention must, however, be made of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met with in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 168 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rākshasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. vi. 40, 44 ff., ed. Gorr.): *Evam ukte tu vachane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-daityaiścha rākshasaiḥ | mānushebhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyaścha devatāḥ | surāsura-samūhe'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esha Harir devaḥ padmanābhas trivikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavānto vasudhāṁ gatvā Vishṇor asya mahātmanaḥ | vānarāṇāṁ tanuṁ kṛitvā sahāyatvaṁ karishyatha* | "When [the priest of the gods Vṛihaspati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: 'I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility by gods, Daityas and Rākshasas: he has, O gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the Suras (gods) or Asuras. Wherefore let this god (devaḥ) Hari (Vishṇu), from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Vishṇu.'" Kumbhakarṇa says that Vishṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

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[29] See sect. 61, vv. 19 ff.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vishṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorr.): *Ko 'sau Vishṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tāta bibhyase | devatve na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manushyatvaṁ gate tasmin kim bhayam tvām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhītās tu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tān pūrvaṁ katham paśchād namāmy aham | praṇamya mānushaṁ Rāmaṁ Sītām datvā tu tasya vai* |

hāsya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi pṛishṭhataḥ | Rāghavām̃ tam mahābāho dīna-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | ṛiddhim̃ cha paśyamāno 'sya katham̃ śakshyāmi jīvitum | hṛitvā tasya purā bhāryām mānam̃ kṛitvā sudāruṉam | praṉamed Rāvaṉo Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirṉayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayam̃ Vishṉur Lakshmaṉo 'pi S'atakratuḥ | Sugrīvas Tryambakaḥ sākshāt svayam Brahmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṉy adhītāni yasya te buddhir idṛiśī | atītāśramiṉam̃ Rāmam̃ yo namaskartum ichhasi | devaṭvam̃ yaḥ parityajya mānushīm̃ yonim āśritaḥ | asmān hantum̃ khilāyātaḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadi vā Rāghavo Vishṉur vyaktam̃ te śrotram āgataḥ | devatānām̃ hitārtham̃ tu pravishṭo mānushīm̃ tanum | sa vānarāṉām̃ rājānam̃ Sugrīvam̃ śaraṉām̃ gataḥ | aho 'sya sadriśam̃ sakhyam̃ tiryagyoni-gataiḥ saha | vīrya-hīnas tu kim̃ Vishṉur yaḥ śritaḥ ṛiksha-vānarān | athavā vīrya-hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanam̃ rūpam āsthāya yāchitas tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dīkshito yajne tena tvam̃ sakhyam ichhasi | yena dattā mahī sarvā sa-sāgara-vanārṉavā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam sa baddho yajna-dīkshitaḥ | upakārī hatas tena so 'smān rakshati vairiṉaḥ | yadā me nirjitāḥ devāḥ svargam̃ gatvā tvayā saha | tadā kim nāsti Vishṉutvam̃ tasya devasya Rākshasa | sāmpratam̃ kutaḥ āyātaḥ sa Vishṉur yasya bibhyase | śārīra-rakshaṉārthāya brūshe tvam̃ vākyam īdṛiśam | nāyam̃ klīvayitum̃ kālaḥ kālo yoddhum̃ niśāchara | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptam̃ trailokyam̃ vaśa-gam̃ kṛitam | Rāghavam praṉame kasmād hīna-vīrya-parākramam | tad gachha śayanīyam̃ tvam piva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānam̃ na hanyāt tvām̃ Rāghavo Lakshmaṉas tathā | aham̃ Rāmam badhishyāmi Sugrīvancha sa-Lakshmaṉam | vānarām̃ścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahāraṉe | Vishṉunchaiva badhishyami ye cha Vishṉv-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhasva tat kshetram̃ chiram̃ jīva sukhī bhava | bhrātaram̃ tv evam uktvā 'sau Rāvaṉaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalepam̃ sa-garjancha punar vachanam abravīt | jānāmi Sītām̃ dharaṉī-prasūtām̃ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusūdanancha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas tenāhṛitā me Janakātmajaishā[30] | *na kāmāchchaiva na krodhād dharāmi Janakātmajām | nihato gantum ichhāmi tad Vishṉoḥ paramam padam |*

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[30] A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvaṉa's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension: *Jānāmi Sītām̃ Janaka-prasūtām̃ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusūdanam̃ cha | Etad hi jānāmy aham asya badhyas tathāpi sandhim̃ na karomy anena |* "I know Sītā to be Janaka's daughter, and Rāma to be Madhusūdana; and I know this that I shall be slain by him; and yet I cannot make peace with him." Gorresio regards both passages as of doubtful authenticity. In explanation of the epithet *dharaṉī-prasūtā* applied to Sītā, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyaṉa (Bombay ed.) i. 66, 13 ff., where

"'Who is that being called Vishṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sītā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma's wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvaṇa should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Vishṇu himself, and Lakshmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (S'iva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā—O thou hast [well] studied the Sāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill us? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Vishṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Vishṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura Bali three paces of ground, while he was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friend-

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Janaka says of his daughter: *Atha me kṛishataḥ kshetraṁ lāngalād utthitā tataḥ* | 14. *Kshetraṁ śodhayatā labdhā nāmnā Sīteti viśrutā* | *bhūtalād utthitā sā tu vyavardhata mamātmajā* | etc. 13. "Now as I was ploughing my field, there sprang from the plough (a girl), (14) obtained by me while cleansing my field, and known by name as Sītā (the furrow). This girl, sprung from the earth, grew up as my daughter." In the next verse she is styled *ayonijā*, "not born from the womb." The commentator quotes the following lines from the Padma-purāṇa on the same subject: *Atha lokeśvarī Lakshmīr Janakasya pure svataḥ* | *śubha-kshetre halotkhāte tāre chottara-phālgune* | *ayonijā padma-karā bālārka-śata-sannibhā* | *Sītā-mukhe samutpannā bāla-bhāvena sundarī* | *Sītā-mukhodbhavāt Sītā ity asyai nāma chākarot* | *tato 'bhūd aurasī tasya Urmilā nāma kanyakā* | *iti* | "Now Lakshmī, the mistress of the worlds, was born by her own will in the city of Janaka, in a beautiful field opened up by the plough, under the star in the second half of the month Phālguna. She sprang from the womb of no female, with a lotus in her hand, like a hundred young suns, but arose from the opening of the furrow, beautiful, in the form of a child. He gave her the name of Sītā, because she sprang from the opening of the furrow (*sītā*). Then his daughter Urmilā was born by ordinary generation."

ship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies![31] When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishṉu? Whence has this Vishṉu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest in this strain to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rākshasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakshmaṉa will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakshmaṉa, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishṉu too, and all Vishṉu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and in a loud tone, Rāvaṉa said again: 'I know Sītā to be sprung from the earth; I know Rāma to be Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishṉu.'" Compare the quotation from the Vishṉu Purāṉa, given above, regarding S'iśupāla, pp. 215 f., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishṉu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṉa's death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect 113, 5 ff., Bombay ed.): *Sa tvam mānusha-mātreṉa Rāmeṉa yudhi nirjitaḥ| na vyapatrapase rājan kim idam̃ rākshaseśvara|* 6. *Katham̃ trailokyam ākramya śriyā vīryeṉa chānvitam | avishahyam̃ jaghāna tvām mānusho vana-gocharaḥ |* 7. *Mānushāṉām avishaye charataḥ kāmarūpiṉaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṉa sam̃yuge nopapadyate |* 8. *Na chaitat*

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[31] Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.

karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chamū-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarshaṇam | 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyām̃ tava vināśāya vidhāyāpratitarkitām | 10. Athavā Vāsavena tvam̃ dharshito 'si mahābala | 11. Vāsavasya tu kā śaktis tvām̃ drashṭum api sam̃yuge | Mahābalam̃ mahāvīryam̃ deva-śatrum mahaujasam | 12. Vyaktam esha mahāyogī[32] *paramātmā sanātanaḥ | an-ādi-madhya-nidhano mahataḥ paramo mahān | 13. Tamasaḥ paramo dhātā śankha-chakra-gadādharaḥ | 14. S'rīvatsa-vakshāḥ nitya-śrīr ajayyaḥ śāśvato dhruvaḥ | mānusham̃ rūpam āsthāya Vishṇuḥ satya-parākramaḥ | 15. Sarvaiḥ parivṛito devair vānaratvam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokānām̃ hita-kāmyayā | sa-rākshasa-parīvāram̃ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham | 16. Indriyāṇi purā jitvā jitam tribhuvanam̃ tvayā | smaradbhir iva tad vairam indriyair eva nirjitaḥ | 17. Yadaiva hi Janasthāne Rākshasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānushaḥ |*

"5. Art not thou ashamed, O king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rākshasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma, is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kṛitānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). 11. But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? 12. This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*),[33] the supreme spirit, the eternal, without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the great (or to Mahat,[34] *i.e.* Prakṛiti or matter), (13) superior to darkness,[35] the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (14) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (15) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys, the glorious lord of all the worlds, who desired the good of all the worlds. [He slew thee],[36] the terrific enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rākshasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered[37] [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. 17. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal."

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[32] *Svābhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ* | Comm.

[33] This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodarī from the divine favour (*satyam evam Mandodarī jānīte Bhagavat-kṛipayā*).

[34] The commentator does not say in what sense the word *mahat* should be taken.

[35] The commentator says that *tamasaḥ paramaḥ* means *prakṛiteḥ pravartakaḥ*, "he who causes the activity of Prakṛiti (or matter)." Instead of *tamasaḥ*, he adds, some read *tapasaḥ*.

If this quotation from the Bombay edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of two verses (the ninth and tenth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Bombay recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows: 9. *Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Vishṇuś cha svayam āgataḥ* | *tava nāśāya māyābhiḥ praviśyānupalakshitaḥ* | 10. *Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rākshasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ* | *Kharas tava hato bhrātā tadaivāsau na mānushhaḥ* | "Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into him unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth), which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Bombay edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10–15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text, which represent Death (*Kṛitānta*), or Indra, as taking the form of Rāma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Vishṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 12 ff. of the Bombay edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the twelfth and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well enough together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Bombay edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verse 40 of the Bombay edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Bombay edition = verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

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[36] It is necessary (with the commentator, who says *hatavān iti śeshaḥ*) to supply the words in brackets, or some others of a similar tenor, in order to make sense.

[37] This clause the commentator explains thus: "*Purā*" *Bhagavad-uddeśena tapo-'nushṭhāna-kāle* | "*tad vairaṁ*" *sva-jaya-nimittaṁ vairaṁ smaradbhir indriyair akarma-pravṛitti-sampādanena nirjitaḥ* |

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvaṇa is to be destroyed. After the Rākshasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff., Bombay ed. = sect. 74, vv. 27 ff., Gorresio): *Rudro vā yadi vā Vishṇur Mahendro vā S'atakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ* | 26. *Hata-pravīrāḥ Rāmeṇa nirāśāḥ jīvite vayam | apaśyanto*[38] *bhayasyāntam anāthāḥ vilapāmahe* | 27. *Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvaḥ śūro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannaṁ na budhyate* | 28. *Taṁ na devāḥ na gandharvāḥ na piśāchāḥ na rākshasāḥ | upasṛishṭam*[39] *paritrātuṁ śaktāḥ Rāmeṇa saṁyuge* | 29. *Utpātāśchāpi dṛiśyante Rāvaṇasya raṇe raṇe | kathayanti hi Rāmeṇa Rāvaṇasya nibarhaṇam* |

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[38] *Apaśyanto 'paśyantyaḥ* | Comm.

[39] *Upasṛishṭaṁ hantum ārabdham* | Comm.

30. *Pitāmahena prītena deva-dānava-rākshasaiḥ* | *Rāvaṉasyābhayaṁ dattam manushebhyo na yāchitam* | 31. *Tad idam mānusham manye prāptaṁ niḥsaṁśayam bhayam* | *jīvitānta-karaṁ ghoraṁ rakshasāṁ Rāvaṉasya cha* | 32. *Pīḍyamānās tu balinā vara-dānena rakshasā* | *dīptais tapobhir vibudhāḥ Pitāmaham apūjayan* | 33. *Devatānāṁ hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahaḥ* | *uvācha devatās tushṭaḥ idaṁ sarvāḥ mahad vachaḥ* | 34. *Adya-prabhṛiti lokāṁs trīn sarve dānava-rākshasāḥ* | *bhayena prabhṛitāḥ nityaṁ vicharishyanti śāśvatam*[40] | 35. *Daivatais tu samāgamya sarvaiś chendra-purogamaiḥ* | *vṛisha-dhvajas Tripura-hā Mahādevaḥ pratoshitaḥ* | 36. *Prasannas tu Mahādevo devān etad vacho 'bravīt* | *utpatsyati hitārthaṁ vo nārī rakshaḥ-kshayāvahā* | 37. *Eshā devaiḥ prayuktā tu kshud yathā*[41] *dānavān purā* | *bhakshayishyati naḥ sarvān rākshasa-ghnī sa-rāvaṉān* | 38. *Rāvaṉasyāpanītena*[42] *durvinītasya durmateḥ* | *ayaṁ nishṭānako*[43] *ghoraḥ śokena samabhiplutaḥ* | 39. *Tan na paśyāmahe loke yo naḥ śaraṉa-do bhavet* | *Rāghaveṉopasṛishṭānāṁ kāleneva yugakshaye* | 25. "Either Rudra, or Vishṉu, or the great Indra S'atakratu, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Rāma. 26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. 27. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṉa), who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśāchas, nor Rākshasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by Rāma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṉa are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. 30. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvaṉa security against Gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. 31. This dreadful danger from men has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall

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[40] These words are thus explained by the commentator: *Dānavāḥ rākshasāś cha bhayena prabhṛitāḥ devebhyo bhayam bibhrāṉāḥ eva vicharishyanti* | *devāḥ svataḥ parato vā 'smān pīḍayishyanti ity arthaḥ* | "The Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, or through others, would distress them." This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtāḥ bhaya-varjitāḥ* | *bhayārtās te punar iha vicharishyanti rākshasāḥ*.

[41] "*Purā*" *pūrva-kalpe* | *devair dānava-nāśārtham prayuktā kshud yathā dānavān harati sma* | Comm. "'As formerly,' in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by the gods for the destruction of the Dānavas, carried them off."

[42] *Apanītena anayena* | Comm.

[43] *Nishṭānako nāśaḥ* | Comm.

terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rākshasas. 32. Now the gods, when oppressed by the Rākshasa (Rāvaṇa), who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. 33. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 34. 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, influenced by fear.' 35. But all the gods,[44] with Indra at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three castles). 36. He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rākshasas.' 37. This female slayer[45] of Rākshasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvaṇa; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Dānavas. 38. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvaṇa this dreadful destruction, accompanied by affliction, has come upon us. 39. We see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages."

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted above (p. 458 ff.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Both of these forms of the legend appear to regard Sītā, and not Vishṇu, as the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa.

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākshasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which, strictly speaking, is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Vishṇu:

Āraṇya Kāṇḍa (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Bombay edition =section 35, vv. 93 ff., Gorresio's edition).—*Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ S'vetāraṇye yathā 'ntakaḥ |* 28. *Sa Vṛitraḥ iva vajreṇa phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vendrāśani-hato nipapāta hataḥ Kharaḥ |* 29. *Etasminn*

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[44] The commentator remarks here: *Evam Brahmaṇaḥ prāsādāt sabhayatva-mātram prāptam | saṁhārādhikṛita-Rudra-prasādena tu nāśaḥ evāsmākam ity āhuḥ |* "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods only obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but through the favour [granted to them] by Rudra, whose function is destruction, we shall be destroyed."

[45] Said to be Sītā, according to the commentator (*sā eshā Sītā eva ity āhuḥ*). Gorresio's text has *Saishā daiva-prasṛishṭā tu kshudhitā Janakātmajā*, etc.

antare devāś chāraṇaiḥ saha sangatāḥ | *dundubhīṁśchābhinighnantaḥ pushpa-varshaṁ samantataḥ* | 30. *Rāmasyopari saṁhṛishṭāḥ vavarshur vismitās tadā* | *ardhādhika-muhūrtena Rāmeṇa niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ* | 31. *Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi rakshasāṁ kāma-rūpiṇām* | *Khara-Dūshaṇa-mukhyānāṁ nihatāni mahāmṛidhe* | 32. *Aho bata mahat karma Rāmasya viditātmanaḥ* | *aho vīryam aho dārḍhyaṁ Vishṇor iva hi dṛiśyate* | 33. *Ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devāḥ yathāgatam* | 27. "Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta (white) forest.[46] 28. He fell like Vṛitra smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,[47] or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. 29. At this moment the gods, joined with the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, (30) rained on Rāma a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a muhūrta and a half (two hours) (31) fourteen thousand Rākshasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūshaṇa, have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. 32. O what a mighty exploit of Rāma, who knows himself![48] O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Vishṇu!' 33. Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came."

If the writer of these verses regarded Rāma as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it would seem to have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the thirty-fifth) the several classes of ṛishis are introduced as [among other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a Kshatriya (*dharmajna vardhase dishṭyā kshatra-dharmeṉa Rāghava*, v. 99), and as saying to him (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were saluting him with congratulations on his victory (*jayāśīrbhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars" (*namaś chakre vimānasthān dṛishṭvā 'dūre divaukasaḥ*).

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[46] On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: *Andhakāsuraḥ S'vetāraṇye Rudreṇa hataḥ iti purāṇa-prasiddham* | . . . . "*S'vetāraṇye yathā 'ntakaḥ*" *iti prachuraḥ pāṭhaḥ* | *tatra Kāverī-tīra-vartini S'vetāraṇye Mārkaṇḍeya-chirajīvitvāya Antaka-saṁhāro Rudreṇa kṛitaḥ iti tan-māhātmye prasiddhiḥ* | *Kaurme tu uttarakhaṇḍe S'vetasya rājarsheḥ paramaśaivasya Kālanjare parvate tapasy abhiratasya māraṇāya āgatasya Antakasya S'ivena vāma-pāda-prahāreṇa saṁhāraḥ kṛitaḥ iti shaṭtriṁśe 'dhyāye uktam* | "The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the S'veta forest, as is well known from the Purāṇas. . . . . The reading, 'as Antaka in the S'veta forest,' is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorification of Mārkaṇḍeya that, to prolong the life of that sage, Antaka (the Ender, Death) was destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūrma-purāṇa, sect. 36, it is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal ṛishi S'veta, an eminent votary of S'iva, who was addicting himself to austerities on the Kālanjara mountain, was destroyed by a blow of S'iva's left foot." Compare A.V. xi. 2, 7, quoted above, p. 336, where Rudra is called "the slayer of Ardhaka."

[47] See above, p. 261, and note 259.

[48] *Viditātmanaḥ*. This epithet is not explained by the commentator.

The following is another passage of the sixth or Yuddha Kāṉḍa occurring in the Bombay edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvaṉa, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will insure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character:

vi. 106, 1 ff. (Bombay ed.): *Tato yuddha-pariśrāntam̃ samare chintayā sthitam | Rāvaṉam̃ chāgrato dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam |* 2. *Daivataiś cha samāgamya drashṭum abhyāgato raṉam | upagamyābravīd Rāmam Agastyo bhagavām̃s tadā |* 3. *Rāma Rāma mahābāho śṛiṉu guhyam̃ sanātanam | yena sarvān arīn vatsa samare vijayishyase |* 4. *Āditya-hṛidayam puṉyam̃ sarva-śatru-vināśanam | jayāvaham̃ japan nityam akshayam̃ paramam̃ śivam |* 5. *Sarva-mangala-māngalyam̃ sarva-pāpa-praṉāśanam | chintā-śoka-praśamanam āyurvardhanam uttamam |* 6. *Raśmimantam̃ samudyantam̃ devāsura-namaskṛitam | pūjayasva Vivasvantam bhāskaram bhuvaneśvaram |* 7. *Sarva-devātmako hy esha tejasvī raśmi-bhāvanaḥ | esha devāsura-gaṉān lokān pāti gabhastibhiḥ |* 8. *Esha Brahmā cha Vishṉuś cha S'ivaḥ Skandaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | Mahendro Dhanadaḥ Kālo Yamaḥ Somo hy Apāmpatiḥ |* 9. *Pitaro Vasavaḥ Sādhyāḥ Aśvinau Maruto Manuḥ | Vāyur Vahniḥ prajāḥ prāṉaḥ ṛitu-kartā prabhākaraḥ |* 10. *Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryaḥ kha-gaḥ Pūshā gabhastimān | suvarṉa-sadṛiśo bhānur hiraṉya-retāḥ*[49] *divākaraḥ |* . . . . 26. *Pūjayasvainam ekāgro Deva-devam̃ jagat-patim | etat triguṉitam̃ japtvā yuddheshu vijayishyati |* 27. *Asmin kshaṉe mahābāho Rāvaṉam̃ tvam̃ jahishyasi | evam uktvā tato 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāgatam |* 28. *Etach chhrutvā mahātejāḥ nashṭa-śoko 'bhavat tadā | dhārayāmāsa suprīto Rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān |* 29. *Ādityam prekshya japtvedam param̃ harsham avāptavān | trir āchamya*

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[49] *Aksharādhikyam ārsham* | Comm.

śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya vīryavān | 30. *Rāvaṉam prekshya hṛishṭātmā jayārthaṁ samupāgamat* | *sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhavat* | 31. *Atha ravir avadad nirīkshya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam prahṛishyamāṉaḥ* | *niśicharapati-sankshayaṁ viditvā sura-gaṉa-madhya-gato vachas tvareti* |

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious[50] in the battle, and in his front Rāvaṉa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining the gods, and coming near to Rāma, said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,[51] continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Āditya-hṛidaya ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. **6.** Worship the rising Vivasvat,[52] the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṉu, S'iva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṉa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūrya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant, of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day." Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmeśānāchyuteśāya,*[53] "to the lord of Brahmā, Īśāna (S'iva), and Achyuta (Vishṇu)." After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): "Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], a man shall conquer in battles. 27. In this moment, O great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvaṇa.' Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. 28. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. 29. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. 30. Beholding Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. 31. Then the Sun, with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, looking upon Rāma, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rākshasas, and standing in the midst of the gods, uttered the word 'speed.'"

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[50] The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: *Evam bhayanāṭanaṁ tan-mūlakam Agastyād upadeśa-grahaṉaṁ lokanugrahāya lokasya jaya-sādhana-vastu-prakāśanārtham iti tattvam* | "The truth is that this acting (or simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastya founded thereon, originated in kindness to mankind, and in a desire to reveal to them the means of gaining victory."

[51] See above, p. 389, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, "my son," applied to him by Vishṉu. If, then, the poet here intended to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Vishṉu as less susceptible than Brahmā, when he makes Agastya address him thus.

[52] Compare the hymn to Sūrya in the Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: *Tvām Indram āhus tvaṁ Vishṉus tvaṁ Rudras tvam Prajāpatiḥ* | *tvam Agnis tvam manaḥ sūkshmaṁ prabhus tvam Brahma śāśvatam* | "They call thee Indra; thou art Vishṉu, Rudra, Prajāpati: thou art Agni, the subtile Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal Brahma."

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio's edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred and fifth section of the Bombay edition, is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the second half of the fourth verse of the hundred and seventh section of the Bombay edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connexion; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred and seventh section (Bombay ed.) of an expression repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred and fifth might lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred and sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma's divine character should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

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[53] *Brahmeśānāchyutānām̃ srishṭi-sam̃hāra-sthiti-kartṛīṇām īśāya svāmine* | "*srishṭi-sthity-anta-karaṇīm Brahma-Vishṇu-S'ivātmikām̃ sa sanjnām̃ yāti bhagavān ekaḥ eva Janārdanaḥ*" *iti smṛiteḥ* | "To the lord of Brahmā, Īśāna, and Achyuta, who are the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world): according to the Smṛiti text: 'The divine Janārdana alone receives the conjoint title of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and S'iva, representing the causes of the creation, continuance and end (of the universe).'" Such is the manner in which the commentator chooses to explain away his text.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhīshaṇa had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma's side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Bombay ed.): *Sa dushṭo vā'py adushṭo vā kim esha rajanīcharaḥ* | *sūkshmam apy ahitam̃ kartum mama śaktaḥ kathanchana* | *piśāchān dānavān yakshān pṛithivyām̃ chaiva rākshasān* | *anguly-agreṇa tān hanyām ichhan hari-gaṇesvara* | "Whether the Rākshasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yakshas, and Rākshasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger." [54] This mode of expression rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (*śakto 'haṁ sahasā hantuṁ divyenāstra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

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[54] On this the commentator remarks: *Anena sankalpa-siddhir aiśvaram̃ chihnam uktam* | *yady evam asmadādi-sangraho vyarthas tatra āha "ichhann" iti* | *svasya niratiśaya-mahimānam̃ tāttvikam Brahma-bhāvam prakaṭīkartum ichhan yadi syām̃ tadā tathaiva kuryām* | *samprati tu deva-bhāvopeta-nija-vilāsair aśeshair "abadhyatvam asya mayaiva dattam" iti tat-paripālanāya sva-divya-bhāvam̃ sva-śaktyā eva antardhāya mānusha-maryādāyām̃ sthityā tad-bhāva-prakaṭanāya eva Sītā-viyoga-prayukta-rodana-vad bhavādṛiśa-sahāya-melanam* | *vastuto na svātirikta-sahāyāntarāpekshā mama* | *manushyāṇām̃ samsāra-maryādā-jnāpanam̃ tad-vyavahāra-phalam iti bhāvaḥ* | "By this [phrase 'with the tip of my finger'] the accomplishment of an intention is declared to be the mark of the Deity. If thus the efforts of persons such as we [men] are, be vain,—in regard to this the author says, 'If I wish.' If I be desirous to manifest my own surpassing greatness, my real character as Brahmā, then I can do this. But now, with the view of maintaining my fiat, [declared in the words] 'I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility,' which I issued agreeably to all the sportive manifestations of my divine nature, suppressing that celestial nature through my own power by remaining within the limits of humanity, with the view of displaying that character, I have associated with myself such allies as you, (Sugrīva), just as I wept for my separation from Sītā. In reality I have no need for any other ally but myself. To show to men the limitations of worldly existence is the fruit of my so acting. Such is the purport." The meaning of this passage is clear, though I may not have succeeded in accurately rendering all the phrases in it.

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 103 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa.[55] Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (103, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great Rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma. He is admitted and received with honour (v. 8), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to be slain by Rāma (v. 11 f.). Rāma promises to abide by this, informs Lakshmaṇa of it, and desires him to stand outside (v. 13 f.). Time then tells Rāma (104) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Vishṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4–7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years (v. 11 f.): that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 14 f.). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas[56] comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmaṇa asks him to wait a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma, his city, kingdom, and all his family (105, 1 ff.). Lakshmaṇa, peferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 9). Rāma dismisses Time, comes out, and receives Durvāsas, and when the sage has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that Lakshmaṇa should die (vv. 10–16). Lakshmaṇa, however (106, 2 ff.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to slay him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors who are consulted concurring in this advice (vv. 5 ff.), Rāma abandons Lakshmaṇa, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses (*nigṛihya sarva-srotāṁsi*), and after the gods had showered down flowers upon him, is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven (vv. 15 ff.). The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishṇu (v. 18). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Lakshmaṇa (107, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 5 f.). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kuśa and Lava, Rāma's two sons,[57] are then installed as kings of the Southern and Northern Kośalas (vv. 17 ff.). Messengers are sent to S'atrughna, the other brother, at Madhurā, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (108, 1–14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and to ease, with S'rī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the form of Brahmans, by the all-protecting Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashaṭkāra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (*i.e.* Brahmans, *mahīsurāḥ*), by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (*varshavarāḥ*), and servants. Bharata with his wives, and S'atrughna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and accompanied by their families, with the ministers of state, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, and birds, etc., etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 110). Brahmā, and all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appear, and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour of their apparition. Pure, fragrant, and delightful breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls, thrown by the gods. While hundreds of musical instruments sound, and the air is crowded with Gandharvas and Apsarases, Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Vishṉu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body thou pleasest, thine own body as Vishṉu, or the eternal ether. For thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishṉu (*Vaishṉavaṁ tejas*) with his body and his followers; and is worshipped by the gods, rishis, etc. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly (*lokān santānakān*).[58]

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[55] All the references to this Kāṇḍa apply to the Bombay edition. I have not seen Gorresio's edition of this book.

[56] Compare p. 196, above.

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[57] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 318 (Dr. Hall's ed.).

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata, which in the Droṉa-parvan 2224–2248, refers to Rāma as one of the great kings of old, merely speaks in v. 2246 of his going to heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajāḥ Rāmaḥ svargaṁ nītvā divaṁ gataḥ*). He is, however, celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men" (*Ati sarvāṉi bhūtāni Rāmo Dāśarathir babhau | ṛishīṉāṁ devatānāṁ cha mānushāṉāṁ cha sarvaśaḥ*), but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Vishṉu. The word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 may mean only "lord," and need not be employed in the sense of "god." (This passage is referred to in Professor M. Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 104.) The Rāmopākhyāna (see further on) in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator an Kishk. K., sect. 43 (Bombay ed.), remarks on 46 ff.: *Itaḥ uttaram kechit ślokāḥ "ramante satatam̃ tatra nārībhiḥ bhāsvara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakshiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshv anupalambhād iti 'Katakaḥ* | "Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,' are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies."

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[58] These worlds are explained by the commentator as realms an abode in which gradually leads to final liberation by the attainment of Brahmā's heaven (*Krameṉa Brahma-loka-prāpti-dvārā mukti-janakān*).

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṉḍa the commentator remarks: *Itaḥ param pancha-sargāḥ prakshiptāḥ bodhyāḥ* | "After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected." On these sections, to which he assigns separate numbers, he gives no commentary. In the first of these sections, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the thirty-seventh section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpattītihāso Rāvaṉasya S'vetadvīpa-gamanetihāsaś cha katipayaiḥ sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu driśyante* | *te tu pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya svāśrama-gamana-kathanād asangatāḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anādṛitatvāch cha mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ* | "That which follows—viz. the tale of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṉa's journey to S'veta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in several sections. But as these sections are inconsistent with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (36, vv. 51, 58 f.) of Agastya's departure to his hermitage, and have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], I also have left them uncommented." These sections are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 59, he remarks: *Etad uttaram̃ śva-mātur akhyānam̃ gṛidhrolūkākhyānancha kvachid dṛiśyate* | *Tīrtha-Katakādy-aspṛishṭatvena prakshiptam iti na vyākhyātam* | "The story of the dog's mother and that of the vulture and owl which follow, are found in some copies: but as they are left untouched by Tīrtha, Kataka, and others, they are rejected, and consequently have not been explained."

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmāyaṉa were regarded by the commentators as spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 180 ff.,[59] Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. v., Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question" (whether the idea of the incarnation of Vishṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). "The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, (Rāmopākhyāna) which is told to Yudhishṭhira by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Vanaparvan, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens.

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[59] On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Vishṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Krishṇa, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Gaviputra Vaiśravaṇa (v. 15883). The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him to be the god of riches, with Lankā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle (vv. 15886 ff.). His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, reproduced the half of himself in the form of Viśravas, vv. 15884 (*tasya kopāt pitā rājan sasarjātmānam ātmanā | sa jajne Viśravāḥ nāma tasyātmārdhena vai dvijaḥ* | and again, v. 15889 : *Pulastyasya tu yaḥ krodhād ardhadeho 'bhavad muniḥ | Viśravāḥ nāma ityādi*). This Viśravas looked upon Vaiśravaṇa with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father[60] (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhīshaṇa; and Rākā, who bore Khara and Sūrpaṇakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Khara and Sūrpaṇakhā) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons (except that of immortality).[61] He ordained that Rāvaṇa should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa, who was influenced by the quality of darkness (*tamas*), should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep[62] (*sa 'vavre*

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[60] Viśravas is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viśravas after the birth of Vaiśravaṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father in his original form as Pulastya. Vaiśravaṇa means the son of Viśravas, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīshaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśravas, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930.

[61] See above, p. 223 and p. 488, below.

[62] This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 462) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.

mahatīm̃ nidrām̃ tamasā grasta-chetanaḥ, v. 15916). Vibhīshaṇa asks that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the Brāhman's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned.[63] Brahmā promises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhīshaṇa follows his brother[64] (v. 15925) Kuvera, who had retired to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having been installed as king, and begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Vishṇu, the chief of warriors, should, by his (Brahmā's) appointment, descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham avatīrṇo 'sau man-niyogāch chaturbhujaḥ* | *Vishṇuḥ praharatām̃ śreshṭhaḥ sa tat karma karishyati*). No account is, however, given of the way in which Vishṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to be born on earth, and beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Vishṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions and instructions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhī, who was born on earth as the hunchbacked Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15934 f., and 15960 ff.).

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[63] *Aśikshitancha bhagavan Brahmāstram pratibhātu me* | See the second volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 416, where the sense of the line is not correctly rendered. See the note on a similar line from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 489. In v. 15897 Vibhīshaṇa is said to be the handsomest of Pulastya's sons (*rūpeṇa sarvebhyo 'bhyadhikaḥ*), and a protector of righteousness, and practiser of religious rites (*dharma-goptā kriyāratiḥ*).

[64] In v. 16157 f. Vibhīshaṇa is said to dwell, shaded by a white umbrella, and with white garlands, on the S'vetaparvata, or, "white mountain," attended by his four counsellors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarṇa, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314 f. he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected by Sugrīva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rām., vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sundara Kāṇḍa, 89, 1-43) forty-two verses are introduced between the two lines which make up the first verse of the 17th section of book sixth in the Bombay ed. That verse states that after addressing some harsh words to Rāvaṇa, Vibhīshaṇa came immediately to Rāma. Gorresio's text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhīshaṇa first tells his mother all that had happened, and then went through the air to Kailāsa, the residence of Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera, v. 4). Before his arrival, however, Mahādeva had gone with Umā and his attendants to the abode of Kuvera (vv. 6 ff.), had dismounted from his bull, and entered the assembly; when the two gods embraced each other, sat down, and began to play at dice. At this conjuncture Mahādeva sees Vibhīshaṇa approaching, and tells Kuvera that he has come to seek his protection; but that he ought to go to Rāma, who would install him as monarch of the Rākshasas (vv. 11 ff.). Vibhīshaṇa arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīshaṇa remains thoughtful (v. 36). Mahādeva again addresses him (v. 37), and tells him to "rise and resort to the ancient lord, the imperishable, the support of all beings, the eternal, the irresistible, the treasury of righteousness, the refuge of those who seek him, the root of the whole world, Rāma" (v. 39) (*Tasmad uttishṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam* | *ādhāram̃ sarva-bhūtānām̃ śāśvatam̃ niravagraham* | 40. *Sa hi dharma-nidhānam̃ cha gatir gatimatām̃ varaḥ* | *kritsnasya jagato mūlam̃ tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam*). Vibhīshaṇa hereupon rises, makes obeisance to the two gods, and goes to Rāma through the sky (vv. 41 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, formed an original part of the poem, I need not attempt to decide; but an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asti tatra Nalo nāmo vānaraḥ śilpi-sammataḥ* | *Tvashṭur devasya tanayo balavān Viśvakarmaṇaḥ* | "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Bombay edition, in these words: *Atha Sītāyāḥ Lankā-pura-praveśam̃ vinā Rāvaṇa-badhasyāśakyatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛita-kubjā-veshayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛittim . . . . . vaktum upakramate* | "Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa's inauguration, etc." Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a boon.[65] The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 415, note 193.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākshasas (vv. 16570 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 180 ff.). The last act of his which is described (vv. 16600 f.) is the celebration of ten aśvamedhas. No reference is made to his death.

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled from the east, west, north, and south, to greet him (1, 1 ff.), and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Krita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, and who was like his father, being teased with the vicinity, sports, singing, and dancing of different damsels, who interrupted his austerities,[66] proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage, on the side of Mount Meru, should become pregnant. The others kept at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Triṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was, like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa=Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). The latter performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and, at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rākshasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Vishṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rākshasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin (v. 4. *Pulastya-vaṁśād udbhūtāḥ rākshasāḥ iti naḥ śrutam | idānīm anyataś chāpi sambhavaḥ kīrtitas tvayā*). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishṇu. Hearing the polished (*saṁskārālankṛitam*)[67] words of Rāma, Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings—some of whom received the name of Rākshasas—to guard them.[68] The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Sālankaṭankaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Siva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as mature as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a city which moved through the ether. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rākshasa women the power of immediate conception and parturition, and to their children instant maturity equal to that of their mothers (v. 30 f.). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12), and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods and Asuras (16). Viśvakarman, at their request, gave them a city, Lankā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built (vv. 18 ff.). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramushṭi, Virūpāksha, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anala (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikaṭa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāksha, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Praghasa, Bhāsakarṇa, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikasī, and Kumbhīnasī (vv. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rākshasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, with their sons, continue to oppress the gods, rishis, etc. (v. 44), who (sect 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva, "the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds" (*Jagat-sṛishty-anta-kartāram ajam avyakta-rūpiṇam | ādhāraṁ sarva-bhūtānām*), who, having regard to his protegé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rākshasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Vishṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). One of the three Rākshasa kings, hearing of this, informs his brothers, and, after consultation (v. 23 ff.), they proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46), unterrified by the portents which were manifested (vv. 53 ff.). Vishṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rākshasas are defeated by Vishṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Lankā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (vv. 42 ff.). Mālyavat remonstrates with Vishṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct (*na jānīshe kshātraṁ dharmam purātanam*),[69] and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

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[65] The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage referred to above (461 f.), is in this episode briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-śāpena rakshitā hy asi nandini | śapto hy esha purā pāpo badhūm Rambhām parāmṛishan | na śaknoty avaśām nārīm upaitum ajitendriyaḥ |* "Thou art protected, charming one, (*i.e.* Sītā) by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa), having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.'s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman." See also v. 16563 f.; and p. 461 f., above.

[66] "Not intentionally," says the commentator on v. 8, "but like (dried) grass and fire" (*triṇāgni-nyāyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam*).

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[67] See the second volume of this work, pp. 157-159.
[68] See Note A., p 439.

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[69] The next verse (4) adds: *Parāṅmukha-vadham pāpam yaḥ karoti sureśvara | sa hantā na gataḥ svargaṁ labhate puṇya-karmaṇām |* "The slayer who wickedly slaughters foes who have turned their backs, after his death does not attain to the heaven of the meritorious."

Vishṇu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rākshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Lankā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishṇu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rākshasqs, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumāli once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasī to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously (vv. 18 ff.). She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakarṇa (v. 34), of Śūrpaṇakhā, and of the righteous Vibhīshaṇa, who was the last son (v. 35),[70] and whose nativity was followed by a shower of celestial flowers, by the sound of celestial drums, and exclamations of delight in the air (v. 36). These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Vibhīshaṇa lives in the practice of duty, the study of the Veda, and temperance, and controls his senses (v. 39). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasī takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws one of his heads as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He performs this oblation nine times at equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men, etc.; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhīshaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 483) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the Brahman's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned; and that in every stage of life his aims may be righteous" (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | aśikshitancha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*[71] *| yā yā me jāyate buddhir yeshu yeshv āśrameshu cha | sā sā bhavatu dharmishṭhā tam̃ tam̃ dharmam̃ cha pālaye*). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarṇa, the gods interpose (v. 35 ff.), as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; if he has done this without receiving any boon from Brahmā, he would, if he should obtain such a favour, devour the three worlds; and they end by suggesting that under the guise of a boon stupefaction should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brahmā's command (v. 42. *Vāṇi tvam̃ Rākshasendrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarṇa, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks, when desired to choose a favour, that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).[72] When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, on the demand of Rāvaṉa, and by his father's advice, gives up the city of Lankā to Rāvaṉa (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

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[70] This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 482), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here) is also a son of Viśravas.

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[71] The commentator explains these last words thus: *Aśikshitam̃ sad-gurūpadeśam̃ vināpīty arthaḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varaṇam aśesha-brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nivṛittaye |* "Unlearnt, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahman's weapon is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge." The commentator also says that by *dharme* ("righteousness") in the first line is meant Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), according to the saying, 'Rāma is the incarnate righteousness': as looking to what follows, the passage would otherwise be tautological ("*Dharme*" *Nārāyaṇe matir bhavet* | "*Rāmo vigravān dharmaḥ*" *ity ukter atra dharma-padena Nārāyaṇaḥ* | *anyatha* "*sā sā bhavatu dharmishṭhā*" *ity anena paunaruktyam̃ syāt* |

[72] The commentator remarks here: *Evam iti | atra shaṇ-māsād arvāk jāgaraṇam̃ na iti niyamaḥ | tad-adhikā 'pi nidrā tu bhavaty eva iti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | ataḥ eva shaṇ-māsān svapiti iti pūrvam̃ Vibhīshaṇoktyā varshāṇy anekāni iti Kumbhakarṇoktyā cha pūrvoktasya na virodhaḥ |* "In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarṇa should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīshaṇa that 'he sleeps six months,' and Kumbhakarṇa here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."

The Uttara Kāṉḍa, sect. 36, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. *Asau punar vyākaraṉam̃ gṛihīshyan sūryonmukhaḥ prashṭumanāḥ kapīndraḥ* | *udyad-girer asta-girim̃ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ* | 45. *Sa-sūtra-vṛitty-artha-padam mahārtham̃ sa-sangraham̃ sidhyati vai kapīndraḥ* | *na hy asya kaśchit sadṛiśo 'sti śāstre vaiśārade chhanda-gatau tathaiva* | *sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspardhate 'yam̃ hi gurum̃ surāṉām* | 44. "Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on inquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz. the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*vṛitti*), the vārttika (*artha-pada*), the Mahārtha, and the Sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer udaya-girer mahad grantham̃ dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhataś cha gṛihṉan* | *dhārayan aprameyaḥ iti nuḍ-abhāva ārshaḥ* | *sūrya-sāmmukhyārtham̃ tāvad gamanam* | 45. *Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha "sa-sūtra" iti* | *sūtram ashṭādhyāyī-lakshaṉam* | *vṛittis tātkālika-sūtra-vṛittiḥ* | *artha-padam̃ sūtrārtha-bodhaka-padavad vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāshyam Patanjali-kṛitam* | *"sa-sangraham" Vyāḍi-kṛita-sangrahākhya-grantha-sahitam* | *"sidhyati vai" siddho bhavati śāstrāntareshv apīty arthaḥ* | *tad evāha* | *na hy asya śadṛisaḥ śāstre kaśchit "chhanda-gatau" pūrvottara-mīmām̃sā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṉaye "vaiśārade" vaidushye* | *viśishya navama-vyākaraṉa-kartā Hanūmān iti cha prasiddhir iti Katakaḥ* | "From the mountain where the sun rises, 'holding,' apprehending in sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated *n* in *dhārayan aprameyaḥ* is vedic (*ārsha*). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṉini (*ashṭādhyāyī*). The *vṛitti* is the contemporaneous gloss on the sūtras (*sūtra-vṛitti*). The *artha-pada* is the *vārttika*, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras; the *Mahārtha* is the Mahābhāshya composed by Patanjali. 'With the *sangraha*' means with the book called Sangraha, composed by Vyāḍi. 'He is perfect' means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say: 'for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,' in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmānsā. 'In skill,' *i.e.* in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kataka's explanation."

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

NOTE E.—*Page* 261, *note* [259], *line* 3 *from bottom.*

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachhat | tam aślīlā vāg abhyavadat | so 'śuddho 'manyata | sa etat śuddhāśuddhīyam apaśyat | tena aśudhyat |* "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him" [charging him with the murder of Brāhmans, according to the Commentator]. "He recognized himself as unclean. He beheld this 'Śuddhāśuddhīya,' [a particular sāman text] and became purified." The story is repeated further on in the same Brāhmaṇa xviii. 1, 9, where it is said that instead of beholding the "Suddhāśuddhīya," Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the "Upahavya" (*Prajāpatim upādhāvat | tasmai etam upahavyam prāyachhat*). This story of Indra and the Yatis is alluded to in Ait. Br. vii. 28, which is quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 437 f. It is also referred to in the Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, and xiii. 8, 17. The latter passage is as follows: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachhat | teshāṁ trayaḥ udaśishyanta Pṛithuraśmir Bṛihadgiriḥ Rāyovājaḥ | te 'bruvan "ko naḥ imān putrān bharishyati" iti | "aham" iti Indro 'bravīt | tān adhinidhāya parichārya charan vardhayaṁs tān vardhayitvā 'bravīt "kumārakāḥ varān vṛiṇīdhvam" iti | "kshatram mahyam" ity abravīt Pṛithuraśmiḥ | tasmai etena pārtharaśmena kshatram prāyachhat | kshatrakāmaḥ etena stuvīta | kshatrasya iva asya prakāśo bhavati | "Brahmavarchasam mahyam" ity abravīd Bṛihadgiriḥ | tasmai etena bārhadgireṇa brahmavarchasam prāyachhat | brahmavarchasa-kāmaḥ etena stuvīta | brahmavarchasī bhavati | "paśūn mahyam" ity abravīd*

Rāyovājaḥ | *tasmai etena rāyovājīyena paśūn prāyachhat* | *paśukāmaḥ etena stuvīta* | *paśumān bhavati* | 18. *Pārtharaśmam̃ rājanyāya brahmasāma kuryāt bārhadgiram brāhmaṉāya rāyovājīyam̃ vaiśyāya* | *svena eva enām̃s tad-rūpeṉa samardhayati stomaḥ* | "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. Three of them were left, Pṛithuraśmi, Bṛihadgiri, and Rāyovāja. They said, 'Who will cherish these persons, us, as sons?' 'I,' said Indra. Having placed them [on his car, according to the comm.], he went on tending and rearing them. When he had reared them, he said, 'Youths, choose boons.' Pṛithuraśmi said, 'May regal power be mine!' He accordingly gave him regal power by means of this 'pārtharaśma' sāman. Let the man who desires regal power offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains distinction like that of regal power. Bṛihadgiri said, 'May Brahmanic lustre be mine!' He gave him Brahmanic lustre by means of this 'bārhadgira' sāman. Let him who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains it. Rāyovāja said, 'Let me have cattle!' He gave him cattle by means of this 'rāyovājīya' sāman. Let him who desires cattle offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains them. 18. Let a 'pārtharaśma' be the 'brahma-sāman' performed for a Rājanya, a 'bārhadgira' that for a Brahman, and a 'rāyovājīya' for a Vaiśya. The 'stoma' thus brings prosperity to each of them after his own fashion." The Yatis are declared by the commentator on Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, to be persons "who practised observances contrary to the Veda" (*veda-viruddha-niyamopetān*); on xiii. 4, 17, to be "the persons so called who were hostile to sacrifices" (*etat-sanjnakān yajna-virodhi-janān*); on xiv. 11, 28, to be "persons hostile to rites" (*karma-virodhi-janān*); and on xviii. 1, 9, to be "Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotishṭoma and other sacrifices, but lived in another way" (*jyotishṭomādy akṛitvā prakārāntareṉa vartamānām brāhmaṉān*). The Yatis are also mentioned in the Taitt. Sanhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: *Yatīnām adyamānānām̃ śīrshāṉi parāpatan* | *te kharjūrāḥ abhavan* | "The heads of the Yatis who were being eaten fell off. They (the Yatis) became date-trees." In the same Sanhitā, vi. 2, 7, 5, they are again referred to thus: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachhat* | *tān dakshiṉataḥ uttaravedyāḥ ādan* | "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals: they devoured them on the south side of the northern altar." On the former of these texts the commentator remarks as follows: *Pāramaham̃sya-rūpam̃ cha-*

turthāśramam prāptānām̐ yeshām̐ Yatīnām mukhe Brahmātmaka-pratipādako vedānta-śabdo nāsti tān Yatīn Indraḥ āraṇyebhyaḥ śvabhyaḥ prāyachhat | *tathā Kaushītakibrāhmaṇopanishadi Indrasya pratijnā samāmnāyate "Arunmukhān Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachham" iti* | *patitatvāt teshām̐ tathātvam̐ yuktam* | *tathā cha smaryate "nitya-karma parityajya vedānta-śravaṇam̐ vina* | *vartamānas tu sannyāsī pataty eva na sam̐śayaḥ" iti* | *teshām̐ cha sālāvṛikair bhakshaṇam̐ shashṭha-kāṇḍe samāmnāyate . . . . iti* | *vedānta-śravaṇa-vānchhām̐ vinā nitya-karma-parityaktavatām̐ bhavatām api īdṛiśī gatir iti darśayitum̐ vedi-samīpe bhakshaṇam eva* | "Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatis in whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life [*āśrama*], that of Paramahaṁsas) the word of the Vedānta [or Upanishads] which sets forth that the soul is Brahma, was not found. Accordingly Indra's declaration that he 'gave up the Arunmukha Yatis to the jackals is recorded in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad" (iii. 1; see p. 161 of Prof. Cowell's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica). "In consequence of their fallen condition, it was fit that this should have been done: according to the text of the Smṛiti, 'A Sannyāsin who lives in the neglect of the fixed observances, and without hearing the Vedānta [or Upanishads], sinks without doubt into a fallen condition.' And the fact of the Yatis being eaten by jackals is recorded in the sixth book (of this Sanhitā, as quoted above). The circumstance of their being devoured near the altar is intended to show that the same fate awaits you gentlemen also, who live without desiring to hear the Upanishads, and in the neglect of the fixed ceremonies." From Prof. Cowell's note in the Kaushītaki Br. Up. transl., p. 161, it appears that Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Ait. Br. vii. 28, regarded the Yatis there mentioned as being Asuras in the disguise of devotees, and the Arurmaghas referred to there as being Asuras in the form of Brahmans. Prof. Cowell adds in a second note that the commentator (in the Kaush. Br. Up.) "explains the Arunmukhas" (there mentioned) "as those in whose mouths the reading of the Vedas is not;" and observes that "they and the Arurmaghas of the Ait. Br. are equally obscure." See the remainder of the note, and Prof. Haug's note on the latter passage in his translation of the Ait. Br., p. 483 f. He thinks the Arurmaghas "were no doubt a kind of degraded Aryas, very likely a tribe of the ancient Iranians," etc.

NOTE F.—*Page* 310, *note* [10]

In regard to this note I have been favoured with a communication from Prof. Roth, who is of opinion that there are two substantives *śravos*, as there are two roots *śru*. There is not only, he considers, a root *śru*, "to hear," but a second *śru=sru;* and there are, he adds, a number of passages where the sense "renown," traditionally ascribed to *śravas*, however wide this idea is, and in however forced a manner it may be applied, does not suffice. The forthcoming fasciculus of his Lexicon will, Prof. Roth informs me, supply details on this subject.

Wilson, Westergaard, and Williams, in their Dictionaries, give a second *śru* as equivalent to *sru*, "to move," "to flow," etc. Prof. Aufrecht is of opinion that in addition to *śru*, "to hear," there is another root *śru*, with the meaning "to quake," "to shake," "to tremble." This root, he states, occurs only twice in the whole Vedic literature which we have before us. The passages in which it is found are R.V. i. 127, 3: *Vīḷu chid yasya samṛitau śruvad vaneva yat sthiram* | "Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;" and R.V. i. 39, 6: *Ā vo yāmāya pṛithivī chid aśrot* | "Even the earth trembled before your rush." From this root is derived *çrona*, "lame." Prof. Aufrecht does not think that in any Vedical passage the root *çru* has the meaning of *sravati*, "to flow." In his note on the former of these two passages, Sāyaṇa explains *śruvat* by *gachhet*, *śīryeta*, i.e. "will move," "will crumble."

NOTE G.—*Page* 412, *line* 19.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rām., Bombay ed. vi. 113) his queen Mandodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him, speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetāraṁ lokapālānāṁ ksheptāraṁ S'ankarasya cha*, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of S'ankara." S'ankara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandīśvara, quoted in the Appendix, above, p. 460 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for S'ankara.

NOTE H.—*Page* 418, *note* [196]

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, as given in the twenty-seventh and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra tells the gods to get ready for battle; but, being afraid, resorts to Vishṇu (sect. 27, 6), whom he glorifies as the Creator and the Being into whom all things are absorbed at the end of the world, and asks his advice (v. 13). Vishṇu reassures him; but says that he could not interfere without killing Rāvaṇa,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākshasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). Meanwhile he tells Indra to fight with Rāvaṇa (v. 21). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākshasas (v. 26 ff.). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, one of the Rākshasas, and grandfather of Rāvaṇa, who had routed the gods, kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (v. 50), and puts the Rākshasas to flight. They are, however, rallied by Indrajit (sect. 28, 1 ff.), and the gods repulsed. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray (vv. 6 ff.). The gods are furiously assailed by Indrajit. Both sides, in the confusion, smite their own warriors (vv. 17 f.). Jayanta is carried off by his grandfather, his mother Sachī's father, Puloman, the Daitya, who enters with him into the sea (vv. 19 f.). The gods, thinking that Jayanta had been killed, take to flight (v. 21), and are pursued by Indrajit. Indra himself now comes upon the scene (v. 23), and is opposed by Rāvaṇa (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvaṇa), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, which he had obtained from Mahādeva, binds Indra and carries him off (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, follow them to Lankā (sect. 30). Brahmā praises Meghanāda's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra," v. 5). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released (v. 7). Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality (v. 8). This Brahmā refuses (v. 9).[73] Indrajit then says, v. 11: *S'rūyatām vā bhavet siddhiḥ S'atakratu-vimokshaṇe* | 12. *Mameshṭaṁ nityaśo havyair mantraiḥ sampūjya Pāvakam* | *sangrāmam avatartuṁ cha śatru-nirjaya-kānkshiṇaḥ* | 13. *Aśva-yukto ratho mahyam uttishṭhet tu Vibhāvasoḥ* | *tat-sthasyāmaratā syād me esha me niśchito varaḥ* | 14. *Tasmin yady asamāpte cha japyahome Vibhāvasau* | *yudhyeyaṁ deva-sangrāme*

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[73] See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.

tadā me syād vināśanam | 15. *Sarvo hi tapasā deva vṛiṇoty amaratām pumān* | *vikrameṇa mayā tv etad amaratvam pravartitam* | 16. *Evam astv iti taṁ chāha vākyaṁ devaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | *muktaś chendrajitā S'akro gatāś cha tridivaṁ surāḥ* | 11. "Listen: or let me attain perfection by releasing S'atakratu (Indra). 12. My wish is,—desirous as I am of conquering my enemies,—to enter into battle after constantly worshipping Agni with texts and oblations: (13) and the boon I have fixed to ask for is that (whenever I shall do so) a chariot with horses may rise up for me out of the Fire, and that while I stand in it I may remain immortal: (14) and if I fight in it against the gods before I have finished my prayers and oblations to Agni, let me perish. 15. For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality. And by my valour I have sought for this immortality. 16. 'So be it,' said Brahmā. Then Indra was released by Indrajit, and the gods went to heaven." Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 17–48), who was standing humiliated and thoughtful, that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā (v. 46), the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama (v. 27), as a reward for his austere virtue. For this he had been cursed by the sage (vv. 31 ff.). Ahalyā, too, was reprehended by the sage, expelled from his hermitage, and condemned to lose her prerogative of being the only beautiful woman in the world (vv. 36 ff.). She excuses herself by saying that Indra had assumed the form of her husband, and thus deceived her, and that she had not yielded to illicit passion (vv. 40 f.). She is then assured that she would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and received again by her husband (vv. 41 ff.); and Indra himself was enjoined to offer a Vaishṇava sacrifice by which he would be purified (v. 47 f.).[74] (Compare the forty-eighth and fortyninth sections of the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., the note in p. 49, above; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above, p. 262, note, and the beginning of Note E., p. 491.) I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

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[74] The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice is mentioned: *Devānāṁ na yajneshv adhikāraḥ iti Jaiminy-uktaṁ tu pramādād iti nirūpitam prāk* | "The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of sacrificing has been before determined to be founded on an inadvertence." The end of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 131, may be here referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is elsewhere found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of Nahusha adduced in the first volume of this work, pp. 307 ff., where such a sacrifice is referred to (p. 310). The lines of the Udyoga-parvan (414 f.) in which this is mentioned are as follows: *Mām eva yajatāṁ S'akraḥ pāvayishyāmi vajriṇam* | *puṇyena hayamedhena mām ishṭvā Pākaśāsanaḥ* | *punar eshyati devānām indratvam akutobhayaḥ* | Vishṇu

Sect. 30, 19 ff.—*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛishṭās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ samābhāshāḥ eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ* | 20. *Tāsām nāsti viśesho hi darśane lakshaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'haṁ ekāgra-manās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam* | 21. *So 'haṁ tāsāṁ viśeshārthaṁ striyam ekām vinirmame | yad yat prajānām pratyangaṁ viśishṭaṁ tat tad uddhṛitam* | 22. *Tato mayā rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā strī vinirmitā | Halaṁ nāmeha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet* | 23. *Yasyāḥ na vidyate halyaṁ tenāhalyeti viśruta | Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyāḥ nāma prakīrtitam* | 19. "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. 20. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then, with intent mind, reflected on these creatures. 21. In order to distinguish them, I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. 22. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me. *Hala* means ugliness, and *halya* that which springs from ugliness. 23. She who has nothing sprung from ugliness (*halya*) is known as 'Ahalyā.' And I have made her known by this name."

NOTE I.—*Page* 427, *line* 7 *from the foot.*

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R.V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Maṇḍala=Ashṭaka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text, with a translation, of the genuine hymn to Night (R.V. x. 127), and then quote the Pariśishṭa:

R.V. x. 127.—1. *Ratrī vi akhyad āyatī purutrā devī akshabhiḥ | viśvāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita* | 2. *Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udvataḥ* |

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speaks: "Let S'akra (Indra) worship me: I will purify the thunderer. Having sacrificed to me with a pure horse sacrifice, he shall again obtain the headship of the gods, and be delivered from fear."

jyotishā bādhate tamaḥ | 3. *Nir ū svasāram askṛita ushasam devī āyatī* | *apa id u hāsate tamaḥ* | 4. *Sā no adya yasyāḥ vayaṁ ni te yāmann avikshmahi* | *vṛikshe na vasatiṁ vayaḥ* | 5. *Ni grāmāso avikshata ni padvanto ni pakshiṉaḥ* | *ni śyenāsaś chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yavaya vṛikyaṁ vṛikaṁ yavaya stenam ūrmye* | *atha naḥ sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā pepiśat tamaḥ kṛishṉaṁ vyaktam asthita* | *ushaḥ ṛiṉā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā akaraṁ vṛiṉīshva duhitar divaḥ* | *rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe* | "The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has assumed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the darkness departs. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have gone to rest at thy coming, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and even suppliant hawks, have gone to rest. 6. Drive away, O Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief; and carry us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness adorned [with stars], black, and yet illuminated, has approached me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have brought for thee a hymn, as it were an offering of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, O Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (=Nir. iv. 29; A.V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ā rātri pārthivaṁ rajaḥ pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ* | *divaḥ sadāṁsi bṛihatī vi tishṭhase ā tvesham vartate tamaḥ* | 2. (A.V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nṛichakshaso yuktāso*[75] *navatir nava* | *aśītiḥ santv ashṭā uto te sapta saptatiḥ* | 3. *Rātrim prapadye jananīṁ sarva-bhūta-niveśanīm*[76] | *bhadrām bhagavatīṁ kṛishṉāṁ viśvasya jagato niśām* | 4. *Saṁveśaṉīṁ saṁyamanīṁ graha-nakshatra-mālinīm* | *prapanno 'haṁ śivāṁ rātrīm bhadre pāram aśīmahi bhadre pāram aśīmahi oṁ namaḥ* | 5. *Stoshyāmi prayato devīṁ śaraṉyām bahvṛicha-priyām* | *sahasra-sammitāṁ Durgāṁ Jātavedase sunavāma somam*[77] | 6. *S'ānty-arthaṁ dvijātīnām ṛishibhiḥ semapāśritāḥ (samupāśritā ?)* | *ṛig-vede tvaṁ samutpannā 'rātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ* | 7. *Ye tvāṁ devi prapadyante brāḥmaṉāḥ havya-vāhanīm* |

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[75] For *yuktāsaḥ*, the A. V. reads *drashṭāraḥ*, "seers."

[76] This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 35, 1: *Rātrīṁ jagato niveśanīm.*

[77] The final pādas of this and the three following verses are, as Prof. Aufrecht observes, borrowed from R.V. i. 99.

avidyāḥ bahuvidyāḥ vā sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṉi viśvā | 8. *Agni-varṉām śubhām saumyām kīrtayishyanti ye dvijāḥ* | *tān tārayati durgāṉi nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'ty Agniḥ* | 9. *Durgeshu vishame ghore sangrāme ripu-sankaṭe* | *agni-chora-nipāteshu dushṭa-graha-nivāraṉe* | 10. *Durgeshu vishameshu tvām sangrāmeshu vaneshu cha* | *mohayitvā prapadyante teshām me abhayaṁ kuru teshām me abhayaṁ kuru oṁ namaḥ* | 11. *Keśinīṁ sarva-bhūtānām panchamīti cha nāma cha* | *sā mām samāḥ niśāḥ devī sarvataḥ parirakshatu sarvataḥ parirakshatu oṁ namaḥ* | [v. 12 is the same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text, beginning *tām agni-varṉām*, etc.] | 13. *Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu śaṁ no devīr abhishṭaye* | *yaḥ imaṁ Durga-stavam puṉyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhet* | *rātriḥ kuśikaḥ saubharo rātrī-stavo gāyatrī* | *rātri-sūktaṁ japed nityaṁ tat-kālam upapadyate* |

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

1. "O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's might. Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and awful darkness returns. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee[78] be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I attain to Night, the mother, who brings rest to all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have attained the auspicious Night, who causes men to rest, who composes [them], who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. May we reach the other side in safety! may we reach the other side in safety! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvṛichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. For the tranquillization of the twice-born, thou art resorted to by rishis, and hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. May [Agni] burn up the wealth of him who seeks to hurt us! 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, O goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as in a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. In difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in

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[78] Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers be," etc.

visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men, bewildered, resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired, and whose name among all creatures is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 427, line 26.) 13. May the divine Durgā be propitious for our good in difficulties. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatri),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time."

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

NOTE J.—*Page* 429, *lines* 13 *f.*

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṉḍeya Purāṉa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-nishṭhā-karī prabho* | *bhayān naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ aihikāchcha mahābhayāt* | 53. *Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṉam* | *tayā na pāhi ityādi* | 54. *Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā guṉa-lakshaṉā* | *tayā ityādi* | 55. *Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā* | *tayā ityādi* | 56. *Sudhūmra-varṉā yā jihvā prāṉinām̃ roga-dāyikā* | *tayā ityādi* | 57. *Sphulinginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ* [*yā te?*] *sakala-pudgalā* | *tayā ityādi* | 58. *Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṉinām̃ śarma-dāyinī* | *tayā ityādi* | 52. "By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmravarṉa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulinginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc."

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: *Tvām ashṭadhā kalpayitvā yajnam ādyam akalpayan* |

"Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice." This seems to refer to the legend from the Brāhmaṇas given in pp. 339–347. Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the S'atarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 322 f.) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne śivam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta hetayaḥ | taiḥ pāhi naḥ stuto deva pitā putram ivātmajam |* "When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son."

In v. 63 Agni is said to have "stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes" (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idaṁ charācharam Hutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

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i. *Page* 6, *note* 13.

See further R.V. ii. 33, 1; and Dr. Bollensen's remarks on the word *sandṛiś* in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., p. 588.

ii. *Page* 9, *line* 11.

See Tāṉḏya Mahābrāhmaṉa, viii. 2, 1 f.

iii. *Page* 19, *line* 3 *from the top and line* 11 *from the foot.*

I learn by a communication, dated some months ago, from Professor Aufrecht, that *anvāśaye* is not a substantive, as I had understood it, but the third person singular present, from the root *śī*+*anu*+*ā*. He would translate the whole verse thus: "With which body has Skambha entered the past, and which body of his rests over the future? When he divided his one body into a thousand bodies, with which of them did he enter there?" And he thinks that the second half of verse 8 has exactly the same sense. *S'aye* is, he adds, a very common Vedic form for *śete*. See also the fasciculus of Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon (recently received), *s.v.* *śī*, where also *śaye* is stated to be the 3rd pers. sing.; and the scholiast on Pāṉini vii. 1, 41, is referred to in proof. In the same work the root *śī*+*aṉu*+*ā* is explained as, in this passage, signifying "to stretch over."

iv. *Page* 28, *line* 8.

I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* *śatabāhu*, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittirīya Āraṉyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: *Aśvakrānte rathakrānte Vishṉukrānte vasundharā* | *śirasā dharāyishyāmi rakshasva mām pade pade* | *bhūmir dhenur dharaṉī lokadhāraṉī* | *uddhṛitā 'si varāhena kṛishṉena śatabāhunā* |

v. *Page* 28, *line* 14.

See Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Panchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.

vi. *Page* 29, *line* 9.

See Tāṇḍya Br. iv. 1, 4.

vii. *Page* 39, *line* 17.

For "vi. 2, 42," read "vi. 2, 4, 2."

viii. *Page* 39, *line* 23.

Ahaṁ durgād āhartā. Compare R.V. i. 61, 7, and viii. 66, 10, in pp. 67 and 91, and the quotation from Sāyaṇa's commentary given in p. 92 f., above.

ix. *Page* 44, *line* 22.

For "5, 32," read "5, 34."

x. *Page* 45, *line* 5.

See Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. *Page* 56, *line* 11.

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Trishṭubh, the Jagatī, or the Anushṭubh metres, but gained it by the Bṛihatī.

xii. *Page* 58, *last line of the text.*

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 11; 6, 5; xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27 f.

xiii. *Page* 61, *line* 5.

See the discussion among the gods about a formula in Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.

xiv. *Page* 67, *line* 18.

On the word *mātṛi*, "measurer," Böhtlingk and Roth have the following explanation: "Sāyaṇa brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to 'the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.' Benfey translates 'carpenter.' But Vṛitra's mother may be here spoken of."

xv. *Page* 78, *line* 11 *from the foot.*

See also Tāṇḍya Br., xx. 15, 6, f.

xvi. *Page* 80, *line* 5 *from the foot.*

Vishṇu is also mentioned in R.V. v. 49, 3: *Indro Vishṇur Varuṇo Mitro Agnir ahāni bhadrā janayanta dasmāḥ* |

xvii. *Page* 81, *line* 27.

In R.V. viii. 12, 8, Indra is said to have eaten a thousand buffaloes and to have in consequence gained in vigour (*yadi pravṛiddha satpate sahasram mahishān aghaḥ* | *ād it te indriyam mahi pra vavṛidhe*).

xviii. *Page* 85, *line* 13.

"The Aśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Aśvins, have come by a path which yields enjoyment."

xix. *Page* 88, *lines* 16, 22 and 28.

For "*yan na*" read "*yan naḥ*: and in line 22, for "tellest not" read "tellest to us."

The passage of the Taitt. San. referred to in p. 88, line 28, viz. ii. 5, 5, 2 (p. 585 of Bibl. Ind., vol. ii.), gives the following explanation of the words Vishṇave S'ipivishṭāya: *Yajno vai Vishṇuḥ* | *paśavaḥ śipiḥ* | *yajnaḥ eva paśushu pratishṭhati* | "'Vishṇu' means sacrifice, and 'S'ipi' means victims; for sacrifice depends upon victims." See also the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa ix. 7, 9 ff. R.V. vii. 100, 6, is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on "S'ipivishṭa:" "This attribute of Vishṇu occurs only in R.V. vii. 99, 6 (a verse which ought to have stood only at the end of hymn 100, as hymn 99 is devoted to the celebration of Indra and Vishṇu), and in the only important verses vii. 100, 5 and 6. The A.V. does not know the word, and in the other Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas it has been, as in other cases, adopted from the R.V. It is perfectly clear that something opprobrious was expressed by the epithet, for vii. 100, 6, means: 'Why should any one, O Vishṇu, have found a subject for reproof when thou didst say, "I am S'ipivishṭa"? Do not conceal even that shape of thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.' Now Aupamanyava says clearly that 'S'ivipishṭa' is 'kutsitārthīya' (has a bad, or contemptuous, sense).[79] The commentator on the Taittirīya Sanhitā ii. 2, 12, 5 (vol. ii., p. 390) says that it is used for *atyanta-rogin.*[80]

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[79] The complete words of Aupamanyava are as follows: *S'ipivishṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dve nāmanī bhavataḥ | kutsit-arthīyam pūrvam ity Aupamanyavaḥ |* "Aupamanya says that there are two names of Vishṇu, S'ipivishṭa and Vishṇu: of which the former has a bad sense."

[80] I quote the commentator's remarks on the verse (vii. 100, 6, of the R.V.) at length: *He "Vishṇo" tvaṁ "yad" yasmāt kāraṇat "S'ipivishṭo asmi" iti prakarsheṇa "vavakshe" punaḥ punar vakshi tasmāt "te" tava manasi "kim it parichakshyam bhūt" kim idaṁ garhaṇīyam abhūt | na etad garhaṇīyaṁ vṛithā eva tava lajjā ity abhiprāyaḥ | yadyapy etan nāma loke atyantarogiṇy | udghāṭita-guhyatva-vimūḍhaiḥ prayujyate "S'ipivishṭo 'yam" iti tathāpy avayavārthasya brāhmaṇena vyākhyātatvād nāsty atra tava lajjā-kāraṇam | tasmād "etad varpo" varishṭhaṁ nāma "asmad mā apagūhaḥ" asmākam agre gūḍham mā kuru | "yad" yasmāt tvaṁ gūhanāya eva samithe yuddhe kavacha-śirshaṇyābhyāṁ gūḍho "anyarūpo babhūtha" babhūvitha | tad anyathā yathātathā vā bhavatu tathāpy asmad-vṛiddhau* (quere *buddhau ?*) *praśastam idam mā gopāya ity arthaḥ |* "O Vishṇu, since thou repeatedly sayest I am S'ipivishṭa, how, then, is this, in thy mind, matter of reproach? It is not matter of reproach; thou art needlessly ashamed: such is the purport. Although this word is in common language applied to diseased persons, to those whose nakedness is uncovered, and to fools, by those who say 'so and so is S'ipivishṭa,' yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 5, 5, 2, see above), thou hast no occasion for shame. Do not therefore conceal from us thy most excellent name (so the commentator understands *varpas*). Inasmuch as in the battle thou hast for the sake of concealment been covered by a coat of mail and a helmet,—whether the fact be so or otherwise, do not conceal that which in our estimation deserves praise."

The word "S'ipivishṭa" also occurs in the S'atarudriya (Vājas. Sanhitā 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahīdhara on the verse: *S'ipivishṭāya Vishṇurūpāya | "Vishṇuḥ S'ipivishṭaḥ" iti śruteḥ | yadvā śipishu paśushu vishṭaḥ pravishṭaḥ | "paśavo vai śipir" iti śruteḥ | sarva-prāṇishv antaryāmitayā sthitāḥ ity arthaḥ | yadvā "yajno vai śipiḥ" | yajne 'dhidevatātvena pravishṭaḥ | śipir āditya vā maṇḍalādhishṭhātā ity arthaḥ | tasmai namaḥ | "śipayo 'tra raśmayaḥ uchyante tair āvishṭo bhavati" iti Yāskokteḥ* (Nirukta, 5, 8). "To S'ipivishṭa, *i.e.* to him who is in the form of Vishṇu: for the Veda says S'ipivishṭa is Vishṇu. Or, according to the Vedic text, that 'śipi' means cattle, S'ipivishṭa will mean, he who enters into cattle, *i.e.* who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or 'S'ipi' means sacrifice; and so S'ipivishṭa may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, 'śipi' is the sun who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yāska says (Nirukta 5, 8) 'S'ipi' means rays; by them he is pervaded."

Professor Weber has the following notice of 'S'ipivishṭa' in his Indische Studien ii. 37 f., note. This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yāska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra has the following: *Nirveshṭita-śeshāya* (*śepāya ?*) | *sarvadā devadāru-vana-pradeśādau vā yathā ādityātmane | yathā Skanda-purāṇe S'aityāchhamatayogād* (?) *vā śipi vāri prachakshate | tatpānād rakshaṇād vā 'pi śipayo raśmayo matāḥ | teshu pravishṭaḥ savitā S'ipivishṭa ihochyate | yadvā paśavaḥ śipayaḥ "yajno vai Vishṇuḥ paśavaḥ śipir" iti śruteḥ sarva-prāṇādy-antaryāmitvena pravishṭaḥ ity arthaḥ |* [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. "'S'ipi' is akin to 'śepa,' 'śipra,' Kiefer, hip, Hüfte, cippus."

This piece of information is taken from the Amarakosha, where it is said, *S'ipivishṭas tu khalatau duścharmaṇi maheśvare.* Halāyudha and Hemachandra have the same. Amara must have taken the two first meanings ('bald-headed' and 'leprous') from actual use; and there is no reason to doubt that even in the Vedic passages 'S'ipivishṭa' means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of 'śipi' is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word 'śipi' is not found used separately. For what the Taittirīya Sanhitā ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, *yajno vai Vishṇuḥ | paśavaḥ śipiḥ* (Tāṇḍya Br. xviii. 6, 26 [81]), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about 'śipi,' is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon 'śipi' by 'śipitam,' 'defective,' in the S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 4, 4."[82]

xx. *Page* 91, *note* [67].

See also R.V. viii. 22, 1.

xxi. *Page* 95, *line* 1.

For "ix. 166," read "ix. 100."

xxii. *Page* 95, *line* 10.

Another verse in which Vishṇu is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: *Ā ahan pitṛīm suvidatrān avitsi napātaṁ cha vikramaṇaṁ cha Vishṇoḥ* | "I have found the beneficent Fathers, and the path and the stride of Vishṇu." *Napāt* is explained by Mahīdhara in Vāj. S. 19, 56, thus: *Nāsti pāto yatra sa napāto deva-yāna-patho yatra gatānāṁ pāto nāsti.* "Napāta means that on which there is no fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall." Sāyaṉa on R.V. x. 15, 3 makes the word=*vināśābhāva*, "the absence of destruction."

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[81] This passage is as follows: *Eshā vai Prajāpateḥ paśushṭhā tanūr yat S'ipivishṭaḥ | prāṇo bṛihat | prāṇaḥ eva paśushu pratitishṭhati* | "This S'ipivishṭa is that body of Prajāpati which abides in victims (or beasts). The Bṛihat is breath: and it is breath which abides in victims." On which the commentator remarks: "*Yajno Vishṇuḥ | pasavaḥ śipir" iti śruty-antarāt | Vishṇoḥ Prajāpatitvāt S'ipivishṭaḥ iti* | "For another Vedic text says that Vishṇu is sacrifice, and śipi denotes victims. Since Vishṇu has the character of Prajāpati, he is S'ipivishṭa," etc.

[82] The Commentator's note on this passage is as follows: *Akāle niruptaṁ haviḥ śipitam | tad-āśrito dosha-viśeshaḥ | tad-yuktam iva yajnasya śarīram bhavati* | Prof. Aufrecht proposes to correct this as follows: *Akāle——śipitam | śipitaṁ tanv-āśrito dosha-viśeshaḥ*, etc. According to this corrected reading the sense will be: "An oblation offered at a wrong time is 'śipita.' Now 'śipita' means a particular defect residing in the body. With it the body of the sacrifice becomes affected, as it were."

xxiii. *Page* 114, *line* 14.

For "verse" read "sense."

xxiv. *Page* 119, *note* [113].

As regards the question whether or not ether (*ākāśa*) is eternal, see the first volume of this work, pp. 130 and 506, and the third vol., pp. 70, 106, and 164.

xxv. *Page* 127, *line* 4 *from the foot.*

For "*praviṉakti*" read "*pravṛiṉakti.*"

xxvi. *Page* 128, *line* 5.

The Commentator on the Taitt. Ār. (Bibl. Ind.), p. 372, explains *utkara* thus: *Veder uttara-bhāge pāṁśu-tṛiṉādayo yatra prakshipyante so 'yam utkaraḥ* | "'The utkara' is the place on the north side of the Vedi (altar) where dust, grass, etc., is thrown."

xxvii. *Page* 129, *line* 13.

This passage is identical with Tāṉḍya Br. vii. 5, 6, vol. i., p. 433.

xxviii. *Page* 262, *line* 6 *from the foot.*

The Tāṉḍya Brāhmaṉa xii. 6, 8, also relates that Indra, after thus treacherously slaying Namuchi, was followed by the head or something else which cried, "Slayer of a hero, thou hast injured me, thou hast injured me." This he could not destroy, either by ṛich, or sāman, but by a Hārivarṉa" (*tad enam pāpīyaṁ vāchaṁ vadad anvavartata "vīrahann adruho 'druhaḥ" iti* | *tad na ṛichā na sāmnā apahantum aśaknot* | *tad hārivarṉasya eva nidhanena apāhata*)

xxix. *Page* 297, *line* 18.

To the word "Jarāsandha" at the beginning of the line, prefix "582."

xxx. *Page* 300, *line* 6.

For "x. 70," read "v. 70."

xxxi. *Page* 302, *line* 15.

Prof. Whitney has since given up this interpretation. See p. 399.

xxxii. *Page* 303, *line* 7.

For "ii. 2, 29," read "xi. 2, 29."

xxxiii. *Page* 303, *line* 22.

For "commentorial," read "commentatorial."

xxxiv. *Page* 306, *line* 26.

See Wilson's Vishṉu Purāṉa, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii., pp. 77 f.

xxxv. *Page* 319, *line* 2.

For "x. 26," read "xii. 26."

xxxvi. *Page* 400, *line* 11.

For "ii. 23," read "ii. 33."

xxxvii. *Page* 421, *line* 24.

For "x. 99," read "x. 90."

xxxviii. *Page* 471, *line* 12.

For "Devavatī," read "Vedavatī."

xxxix. *Page* 491, *line* 27.

For "xiii. 8, 17," read "xiii 4, 17."

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